

JPRS 75191

22 February 1980

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1767



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

#### NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

#### PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

<b>REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE</b>		1. REPORT NO. JPRS 75191	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.																		
4. Title and Subtitle EAST EUROPE REPORT: POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, No. 1767			5. Report Date 22 February 1980																			
7. Author(s)			6.																			
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201			8. Performing Organization Rept. No.																			
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address  As above			10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.																			
			11. Contract(C) or Grant(G) No. (C) (G)																			
			13. Type of Report & Period Covered																			
15. Supplementary Notes			14.																			
16. Abstract (Limit: 200 words)  This serial report contains information on official party and government pronouncements and writings on significant domestic political developments; information on general sociological problems and developments in such areas as demography, manpower, public health and welfare, education, and mass organizations; and articles on military and civil defense, organization, theory, budgets, and hardware.																						
17. Document Analysis a. Descriptors  <table border="0"> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs</td> <td>Propaganda</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Albania</td> <td>Political Science</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria</td> <td>Sociology</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia</td> <td>Military Organizations</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> German Democratic Republic</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Hungary</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Romania</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs	Propaganda	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Albania	Political Science	<input type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria	Sociology	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia	Military Organizations	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> German Democratic Republic		<input type="checkbox"/> Hungary		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Romania		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs	Propaganda																					
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Albania	Political Science																					
<input type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria	Sociology																					
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia	Military Organizations																					
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> German Democratic Republic																						
<input type="checkbox"/> Hungary																						
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland																						
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Romania																						
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia																						
b. Identifiers/Open Ended Terms																						
c. COSATI Field/Group 5D, 5K, 15																						
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22161			19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED	21. No. of Pages 83																		
			20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED	22. Price																		

22 February 1980

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1767

CONTENTS	PAGE
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS	
Romanian Agreements With Foreign Countries United Nations (Editorial Report) .....	1
ALBANIA	
Constitutional Principles on Sovereignty Recalled (Thimi Nika; ZERI I POPULLIT, 9 Jan 80) .....	2
Struggle Against 'Religious Remnants' Persists (Various sources, 8, 15 Jan 80) .....	6
Unhealthy Influence of Grandparents, by Qazim Lika Religious Ideas Hinder Health Care	
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	
Party Statutes Must Be Observed Scrupulously (Milan Razus; ZIVOT STRANY, 3 Dec 79) .....	9
Military Appreciation Education in Kindergartens Urged (Pavel Odrazil; ROVNOST, 23 Dec 79) .....	15
Lucan Denounces Critics of Pacem in Terris Movement (Prague Domestic Service, 6 Feb 80) .....	19
Newspaper Comments on Bread Being Wasted (Ondrej Dobos; PRAVDA, 21 Jan 80) .....	21



# CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

## Briefs

Trade Unions, Women Cooperation	23
U.S. Women Officials Received	23
Traffic Accidents	23
Czech-Soviet Friendship Meeting	23
SVAZARM Discusses Political Work	24
Visiting Egyptian Politician	24
German Language in Slovak Schools	24
Prague Population Getting Younger	24
New TU Auditing Officials	24
Visiting Irish Communist	24

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Regulations on Disciplinary Authority, Responsibilities Explained (AR ARMEERUNDSCHAU, Jan 80) .....	25
Ship-to-Ship Guided Missile Launching Exercise Described (Horst Spickereit; AR ARMEERUNDSCHAU, Jan 80) .....	30

## POLAND

Possible Polish 'Explosion' Scenario Sketched Out (Jadwiga Kwiatkowska; KULTURA, Dec 79) .....	36
Characteristics of Future Economic Reform Discussed (Rafal Krawczyk; SZTANDAR MLODYCH, 8-9 Dec 79) .....	43
Decline of 'Real Economic Journalism' Observed, Bemoaned (Stanislaw Chelstowski; PRASA POLSKA, Dec 79) .....	49

## ROMANIA

Need for Relations With All Socialist States (Ioan Timofte; SCINTEIA TINERETULUI, 12 Dec 79) .....	52
Problems in Atheistic Education in Schools Cited (Toma Mares; ERA SOCIALISTA, 5 Jan 80) .....	55
Roundtable Discussion on Need for Disarmament (Ion Datcu, Sergiu Verona; ERA SOCIALISTA, 5 Jan 80).	64

## YUGOSLAVIA

Islamic Paper Reflects New Editorial Policy (Editorial Report) .....	76
---	----

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

Border Crossing Points Specified (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, 9 Nov 79) .....	78
Briefs Party School's Ethnic Structure	80

ROMANIAN AGREEMENTS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES UNITED NATIONS

[Editorial Report] Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 97 of 8 December 1979 publishes, Council of State decree No 418 on the ratification of twelve international treaties and the texts of the agreements as follows: a consular convention between Romania and Cyprus, pp 2-11; a consular convention between Romania and Algeria, pp 11-19; a convention between Romania and Algeria on juridical assistance in civil, family and penal matters pp 20-25; a convention between Romania and the GDR on dual citizenship, pp 25-26; a convention between Romania and Hungary on dual citizenship, pp 27-28; a convention between Romania and Pakistan on double taxation, pp 28-36; a convention between Romania and Canada on double taxation, pp 36-44; a convention between Romania and Spain on double taxation, pp 44-52; an agreement between Romania and the Sudan on the promotion and mutual guaranteeing of capital investments, pp 52-53; an agreement between Romania and Gabon on the encouragement, promotion and guaranteeing of investments, pp 54-56; a long term trade agreement between Romania and Libya, pp 56-57; a convention between Romania and Yugoslavia on the regulation of rail service at the border, pp 58-63.

BULETINUL OFICIAL Part I No 108 of 29 December 1979 publishes the text of the following agreements on civil air transportation: the agreement between Romania and Vietnam signed in Hanoi on 26 June 1979, pp 2-6; the agreement between Romania and the Ivory Coast signed in Abidjan on 25 May 1979, pp 7-11; the agreement between Romania and Burma signed in Rangoon on 30 May 1979, pp 12-16.

BULETINUL OFICIAL Part I No 4 of 5 January 1980, pp 6-9, publishes the text of the agreement between Romania and the United Nations on the continuation and development of the UN Demographic Center in Romania (CEDOR), signed in New York on 15 November 1979.

CSO: 2700

CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES ON SOVEREIGNTY RECALLED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 9 Jan 80 p 2

[Article by Thimi Nika: "The Constitution of Triumphant Socialism"]

[Text] Republic Day is two days away. On 11 January the People's Socialist Republic of Albania will be 34 years old. This is the fourth year that our republic has been known as the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, a name which our new constitution sanctioned. This constitution is a document of great political, ideological and juridical significance and, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has pointed out, "completely holds the stamp of prudent and revolutionary popular thinking," "embodies the true characteristics of triumphant socialism, the freedom-loving spirit and courage of the people and the prudent Marxist-Leninist line of our party." This is a great work of our party and people, the second socialist constitution of the new Albania and the constitution of the stage of the complete construction of the socialist society.

Albania's first socialist constitution was approved about 34 years ago, on 14 March 1946, by the Constitutional Assembly. This constitution legally sanctioned the greatest victory in our people's centuries-long history, achieved by them under the enlightened leadership of the party, headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, with the glorious epic of the antifascist national liberation struggle, sanctioned the new reality which was created in Albania, the true revival of our people, who became the plenipotentary masters of their own fate, the end, once and for all, of the old world and the beginning of the new world and the brilliant epoch of socialism. For 30 years, this fundamental law served as a legal basis and a program for the construction of the foundations of socialism in our country, for the achievement of such huge accomplishments as the elimination of private ownership of the means of production and the establishment of a single socialist economic system in both urban and rural areas, the liquidation of exploiting classes and man's exploitation of man, the building of new socialist relationships and, on this basis, the change in the class composition of our society, which now consists of two amicable classes--the working class and cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia.



These deep transformations, accomplished in three decades, marked the end of the period served by our first socialist constitution. Therefore, the party at its Sixth Congress, underlining the fact that this constitution had honorably accomplished its mission, laid out the task to draft the new fundamental law of socialist Albania, which would sanction the great revolutionary changes accomplished and the victories achieved, reflect the correct and crystal-clear Marxist-Leninist line of the Albanian Workers' Party for the complete construction of socialism and for the further development and strengthening of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the basis of the resolution of the Sixth Congress and under the direct leadership of the Albanian Workers' Party, its Central Committee and personally by Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania was drafted, discussed widely among the working masses of city and village, and approved.

It is a direct continuation of the previous constitution, a worthy successor to it but of higher quality. This is logical due to the fact that the new constitution corresponds to new, more advanced political, economic and social conditions, such as: The country's entrance into the historic stage of the complete building of the socialist society; further improvement of socialist relationships in production and in the superstructure of our society, especially the political structure, which is expressed in the deepening of socialist democracy in action, in the incessant growth of mass participation in the governing of the country, in the strengthening of worker and peasant control and in the revolutionizing of cadre-mass relationships; the changing of Marxism-Leninism--the scientific philosophy of the working class and its party--into the dominant ideology, etc.

The Marxist-Leninist ideology and the basic principles of scientific socialism pervade, as a red thread, the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Finding complete embodiment in it are the principles formulated by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, especially in the field of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and also our party's revolutionary experience in the effective implementation of these principles for building socialism, in keeping with our country's specific conditions. In this way, it draws a clear line of demarcation with the modern revisionists of all shades and forms, who have flagrantly distorted and falsified the theory and practice of scientific socialism.

The Soviet, Yugoslav, "Eurocommunist" and Chinese revisionists have conducted and are conducting a thorough demagogic campaign to refute the true characteristics of scientific socialism. They consider them "superseded" for today's conditions. Thus, for example, to justify counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and in the other revisionist countries and to deny the class content of the state and all socialist society, the revisionist scribes have fabricated their "theories" of the "state of all people" and the "party of all people," the "multiparty system in socialism," the "plain ideological" or "plain economic" role and not the leadership role

of the communist party, the "conclusion of the class struggle with the elimination of exploiting classes," "three worlds," "ideological pluralism," "free circulation" of ideas of reactionary cultures and others. In this way, they have trampled with both feet the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the essentiality of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a powerful and decisive arm for advancing the socialist revolution to complete and final victory. This thoroughly anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary position is also sanctioned in their constitutions. The "Socialist" formulas and the pretty words of these constitutions cannot hide the sun with sieves nor conceal reality: the reestablishment of capitalism in all pores of life in these countries.

Our new constitution, sanctioning the class content of our state as a dictatorship of the proletariat, the undivided leadership role of the AWP in the state and in the entire life of society, class struggle as a major motivating force of our society, Marxism-Leninism as the dominant ideology, proletarian internationalism as a fundamental principle in our country's foreign policy, at the same time categorically rejects the modern revisionists' notorious theorizations and makes evident the always new vitality and creative force of triumphant Marxism-Leninism and the genial ideas of scientific socialism. Our new constitution embodies the AWP's revolutionary experience in blocking the threat of the peaceful bourgeois and revisionist degeneration of socialism, in assuring the uninterrupted progress of the revolution and the building of socialism, experience which comprises a valuable contribution to the theory and practice of scientific socialism.

The Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is also a living reflection of democracy and true socialist humanism. It confirms the Marxist-Leninist teaching that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the broadest, deepest and fullest democracy for the workers. Since state authority here derives from the working people and belongs to them, the working masses have been assured and guaranteed by law the right to speak with competence on the solution of social and state problems, to exercise control over whomsoever and whatsoever, to participate effectively on a broad scale in an organized manner and in various forms in the governing of the country. The spirit of socialist democracy characterizes the entire building of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, from the lowest to the highest organs of state authority. Another important aspect of socialist democracy in action, which is sanctioned in the constitution, is worker control as an inseparable part of the line of the masses. Through the constitution, our country's citizens are assured all the democratic rights and liberties that they really enjoy, since no gap exists here between the law and its practical application. Our constitution views these rights as being closely related to the fulfillment of tasks by the citizens. The affirmation of socialist democracy in the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is another overwhelming blow against bourgeois and revisionist theorizations of "democratic socialism," "socialism with a human face" and "pure,"

"superclass" and "impartial" democracy "for all," which allegedly exists in their countries and whose goal, as Lenin said, is to "deceive the simple people."

Affirmed as a constitutional norm in the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is the principle of popular self-determination and the full exercise of national sovereignty. Our constitution proclaims with a loud voice that none but the representative organs of authority can exercise the people's sovereignty and every attribute thereof in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and in its name, that the territory of Albania is unexceptionable and its borders are inviolable, that the establishment of foreign bases or forces on the territory of our socialist fatherland is prohibited, that no one can assume the right to exercise sovereignty or to seek "aid" in order to justify any intervention in Albania on the part of imperialist, revisionist or other reactionary enemies, that no one has the right to sign or to agree in the name of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the capitulation or overthrow of the country, that the granting of concessions, the creation of companies or other foreign economic and financial institutions or in combination with monopolies and capitalist, bourgeois or revisionist states, as well as the acceptance of credits from them, are prohibited. Sanctioning all of these, the new constitution, on the one hand, places a fixed limit and openly countervenes the falseness of bourgeois "theories," which have proclaimed sovereignty to be an "anachronic concept," "a source of all evils in the real world" and the Khrushchevian revisionists' "theory" on "limited sovereignty" in favor of the "supreme interests" of the so-called socialist community and, on the other hand, affirms the steadfast determination of socialist Albania to march forward without flinching, relying on its own efforts. However, this does not mean to say, as certain imperialist and revisionist enemies claim, that our constitution entices the isolation of our country. This is, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has stated, "a view from the capitalist and revisionist eye. The imperialists and revisionists consider isolated any country which has closed its ports to invasion by means of enslaving credits, by means of tourists and spies and by means of decadent culture and degeneration. From this point of view we are truly and will conscientiously remain an isolated country."

The approval of the new constitution marked the beginning of the work for the further revolutionizing of the major laws of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, especially codes. Up to now, in keeping with the the spirit of the constitution, the Penal Code, the Penal Procedure Code, the Law on People's Councils, etc., have been revised and approved by the People's Assembly and the proposed new Labor Code has been developed and is being discussed among the working class and the working masses.

A little more than three years has passed since the approval of the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. We now see clearly the brilliant and sure perspectives it affords our country from every point of view. Years will pass and our constitution will always inspire us to strengthen further the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, this invincible fortress of the revolution, socialism and victorious Marxism-Leninism.

## STRUGGLE AGAINST 'RELIGIOUS REMNANTS' PERSISTS

### Unhealthy Influence of Grandparents

Tirana PUNA in Albanian 8 Jan 80 p 3

[Article by Qazim Lika, taken from the Shkoder paper JETA E RE: "The Influence of the Family Environment in the Atheistic Education of Children"]

[Excerpts] For centuries, religion and the clergy have directed their attention to the family, which was to become the first cell of the religious education of the children. No religion has relied merely on prayers, ceremonies and religious rites held in places of worship. All religions, all clergy have insisted that each family, each family residence be transformed into a little place of worship.

For centuries, religion has been defending the idea that the child is born with a religious feeling in his heart and that God himself instilled this feeling. Even today, the apologists for theology in the capitalist and revisionist countries, considering the individual as a beaver of instincts, speak about a special instinct, the religious instinct. But, the experience of humanity has proven that the child is born neither as a religious person nor as an atheist.. The child becomes religious or atheistic according to the education which is given him, according to the family and social environment in which he lives. Naturally, the cultural level of the members of the family plays a very important role in the formation of the children. In the past, the cultural level of the parents was exceedingly low. After the Liberation, under the leadership of the party, there was an ideological revolution which radically changed the family environment.

Our families have undergone radical economic and socio-cultural changes. The cultural level of the family in the city and in the village has improved greatly. In addition to the new conditions created in the families the elimination of religious institutions in our country has had a great influence in liberating our youth from the religious spider web. Nevertheless, much more must be done to make the family environment a completely atheistic environment.



Many of the children's questions are answered by grandparents who have the most contact with them. However, the grandparents give the answers according to what they know and according to their understanding of the world. Therefore, parents, brothers and sisters should make a greater effort to explain things to children in a simple manner, but always in accordance with our scientific materialist concepts and to uproot any erroneous ideas which might have been implanted in them. There should not be any cases where poorly trained parents implant all sorts of prejudices and superstitions in the minds of the children. These include superstitions about the "evil eye", an "unlucky day", an "unlucky number", about fortune-telling, fantastic interpretations of dreams, the superstition about the influence of the moon on events, etc. Although these beliefs are not held universally, their appearance shows that even if the churches and mosques have been demolished, religious ideology has not been eliminated completely.

Sometimes, we are faced with another phenomenon. Some children have two names--one which they use for the official records and in school and the other which they use at home. We know Agim in school but he is Viktor at home; they call him Pellumb in school but they call him Nikolin at home. The child asks why he has two names and the grandparent explains that they call him Nikolin at home because this is the more beautiful name since it is a "saint's" name. It is understandable that this has a bad influence on the atheistic education of the child.

Looking at our family environment as it is, we can say, without hesitation, that the family environment in Albania is the most atheistic in the world. But even though we have achieved great successes in the struggle against religion, we must never become self-satisfied.

#### Religious Ideas Hinder Health Care

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 15 Jan 80 p 1

[Excerpts] In the health field there are important problems which require greater attention. These include the struggle against environmental pollution, the achievement of technical security in work and other measures to protect the health of the workers. However, negative concepts and harmful attitudes appear in this area and they are met by silence or by inadequate measures. Therefore, the rigorous implementation of hygiene and health discipline in the work areas and everywhere is an obligation which concerns everyone, especially the health workers who must always be concerned with protecting the health of the people.

Concrete actions undertaken in the sectors of the city, in the work and production centers, in the villages and in every family have proven to be fruitful. They activate the masses of workers and help make hygiene problems matters of importance for all and help in their speedy solution. However, in this area, there is still unsystematic work, work in spurts; there are instances of work for publicity and formalism, which must be eliminated.

There are cases, especially in the villages, where remnants from the past and religious concepts are obstacles in the work for the further improvement of the health level of the masses. There are concepts such as: "We have lived under much worse conditions in the past and now we are so much better, we don't have to go any farther" or "the doctor cannot give a soul to anyone", etc. All these attitudes nurture the petit-bourgeois feeling of self-satisfaction, so that the advice of doctors is not heard and implemented as it should be and progress is obstructed. The bad thing is that often these harmful manifestations are not given proper attention. Therefore, it is essential that the mass organizations rise up more forcefully and better organize propaganda and scientific work in this area.

CSO: 2100

PARTY STATUTES MUST BE OBSERVED SCRUPULOUSLY

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 25/26, 3 Dec 79 pp 22-24

[Article by Milan Razus, member of the Central Control and Audit Commission of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia: "The Statutes--Law of Internal Party Life"]

[Text] From the check-ups made during past periods by the control and audit commissions at all levels of Party construction, it may be concluded that increasing attention is being given to the consistent observance of the statutes. Party unity and effectiveness are being intensified.

However, life is in constant motion. Conditions in communist party activities also change, and new and more complicated tasks are becoming part of the order of the day. Therefore the most active Party members must always seek directives in the statutes for the solution of questions and problems that arise in day-to-day Party operations.

In preparing for replacement of Party membership cards, the district committees pointed out which tasks should get preferential treatment by local organizations when they expressed their opinions. A considerable number of recommendations deals particularly with more responsive implementation of article 65 of the statutes, which stresses the role of the membership meeting as the most prominent organ of the local organization and school of communist education.

At present Party organizations succeed in convening regular Party meetings, which are attended by a constantly increasing number of communists. An in-depth analysis has confirmed that in many instances the preparation of a topic for the proceedings is still poorly thought out. This is so, among other reasons, because some committees do not satisfactorily enlist Party groups in the proceedings--communists from among economic managers and officials of societal organizations, outstanding production workers. The experience of these comrades is still seldom used in working out proposals for reports and resolutions and in solving serious problems and controlling implementation of adopted resolutions.

In clearly defining the function of the membership meeting, the Party statutes also give specific instructions as to where the main emphasis should be in preparing such meetings. Let us recall article 65 of the statutes, where the task of the most important intra-Party activity of the basic organization is described as follows: It (the meeting), in conformity with Party policy, sets forth the chief directives and assignments for the political, organizational and ideological-educational work within the operational jurisdiction of the basic organization; it deals with and decides about the chief tasks of working places and areas as well as admonitions and suggestions for the working people. It equips the communists with experience and arguments for their political activities. It adopts resolutions, gives assignments to Party members and determines how they should be carried out and their implementation monitored. In the spirit of the adopted Party line it evaluates the activity of the committee as well as the entire organization, all its officials and members."

The number of basic organizations is growing which correctly grasp the significance and importance of observing this article of the statutes for continued development of their intra-party life, as well as for a permanent mobilization of all members and candidates, for strengthening the Party's authority and affirmation of its influence among non-Party people, and for successful mastery of all tasks. There are, however, organizations which still do not have appreciation for the monitoring role of the membership meeting and have therefore considerable difficulties in implementing various resolutions. Let us illustrate from at least one experience from among a considerable number of others encountered by the Party control and audit commissions.

In the past two years the North Bohemian Construction Works, Chomutov plant, did not fulfill the economic plans set for each year. Since a discrepancy was established between the volume of assigned tasks and actual plant capacity, even the Party organization found it very difficult to strive for a favorable final result. Nevertheless, as was established by the CPCz Control and Audit commission in Chomutov, it could have used its influence during those two years to eliminate many shortcomings which accompanied the administrative and organizational work of the plant's economic management as well as the activity of the economic managers on individual construction sites to improve usage of work time by mechanization and transportation as well as materials.

As early as January 1978 the membership meeting partially pointed out these shortcomings. Nevertheless, even the May membership meeting, which discussed results of the eleventh session of the CPCz Central Committee, did not take a more forcefully critical stand toward the non-fulfillment of previously adopted measures. All this took place despite the fact that the economic situation indicated a serious threat to the fulfillment of tasks in the field of comprehensive housing construction.

In a resolution the May 1979 membership committee essentially repeated the conclusions adopted by the January meeting. Higher economic organs did not



secure the necessary delivery of production capacities to create basic prerequisites for the practical fulfillment of the plan by the plant. For this reason the political-organizational work of the basic Party organization also did not develop in a manner required by the ever more difficult tasks assigned to the plant.

This is not an exceptional case. Similar information is available about several other basic organizations. The attitudes towards them taken by district committees indicate that these committees cannot correctly evaluate achieved results, do not compare them with the original conditions and view the completed work within sufficient criticism. Membership meetings in these basic organizations do not hold functionaries, members and candidates to Party responsibility for non-fulfillment of adopted resolutions and tasks.

Almost all larger organizations have by now worked out comprehensive measures to implement various resolutions of higher Party organs. These measures, however, often remain filed away in office folders and some committees have no knowledge of the implementation of adopted tasks. This is true especially in cases when membership meetings only rarely, and often even without necessary frankness, evaluate the work of functionaries and members and do not sufficiently stress that they must give account regularly.

In this matter, as the statutes indicate, it is primarily up to the committees of the basic organizations to create real and suitable conditions for intra-Party critical and self-critical activities. They must begin with preparing and submitting reports and proposals, which by their content and intention should always contribute to the elimination of various abuses, the strengthening of Party control and discipline and the unity and mobilization of communists.

The problem of the role of the membership meeting as the chief organ of the basic organizations is also closely connected with the mutual relationship between the committee and membership meetings. Many obscure views in this regard were successfully removed. The overwhelming majority of the basic organizations already understands correctly that the committee is answerable to the membership meeting and that it must submit a monthly report on its activity and the state of the organization. It must also ensure that the report contains all important decisions and a statement ascertaining implementation of resolutions taken in-between meetings. In many cases, however, the control and audit commissions discover that these reports are submitted only for information purposes, whereas they should be a topic for discussion by the membership meeting, which should express its opinion on them in its resolution as well.

Shortcomings also appear in the assertion of the right to control economic management. A considerable number of basic organizations which have this right have not yet mastered the method of demanding criticism in carrying out the Party's policy forcefully. Even though the fulfillment of economic tasks is more and more difficult, many committees and membership meetings

are still satisfied with getting information about over-all results only and do not pay proper attention to sectors which are not working well or to sectors where various negative factors are manifest. Therefore some organizations still do not require the economic management to correct the shortcomings and only rarely call their members and candidates to Party responsibility.

During membership meetings, for instance, economic workers often justify the non-fulfillment of the plan's assignments by lack of required material, spare parts, etc. Party functionaries and members agree with these views instead of asking whether everything really has been done, whether it was done in time, in particular, to ease the unfavorable situation. The membership meeting should, first of all, critically examine to what degree the apparently objective difficulties are in fact caused by subjective mistakes and low-level responsibility of the economic worker in charge.

There are, however, also instances when there is little support for economic managers who take measures to consistently uphold the interest of all society, overcome difficulties, strengthen the Party and state and labor discipline, introduce order into the system of compensation for labor results, and so on. Some Party organizations do not pay proper attention to the training of communists in labor unions and the Socialist Youth Organization, so that they carry out the Party's resolutions uniformly and by means of their political work unify the working collectives in order to enforce the solutions proposed.

In these cases Party groups should take a more active role. Even though they do not have the right to control economic management, which belongs to basic organizations, it does not mean that they do not have to deal with the question of how the economic workers are fulfilling the resolutions taken by the membership meeting as well as their duties in the sector where the Party group operates. On the contrary, the Party group should consistently control implementation of adopted resolutions and measures by all members of the Party group, irrespective of their function. It is also obligatory to support decisions and measures of economic managers in order to ensure production quotas, to enforce order and discipline at the work site, etc. It follows from the very spirit of the statutes that the Party group has the right on their own initiative to submit suggestions, proposals and critical admonitions directed toward eliminating shortcomings not only in the work of the organizations but also in the activities of economic workers in the sectors in which they operate.

The basic organization, its committee and membership meeting must ensure that admonitions and suggestions by members and candidate members are fully taken into account and acted upon until they are fully resolved. Party organs and organizations must meet the following obligations as set forth by the statutes (article 68g): "to create conditions for development of criticism and self-criticism, implacably oppose suppression of any kind of opposition to bureaucratism, waste of state resources, irresponsibility and lack of discipline, sluggishness and opposition against all shortcomings which hinder the development of the socialist society."

Despite that, however, the central committee and central control and audit commissions of the Party still receive a number of warnings that some organs and organizations ignore critical admonitions and sometimes even overlook the victimization of communists for their criticism, which amounts to a gross violation of the statutes.

For instance, a female member of the Party organization in the unified agriculture cooperative Rozvoj Okorinek in the Nymbur region criticized serious defects in the work of the chairman and other functionaries of the cooperative during a membership meeting. Instead of expeditiously examining themselves and their previous activities, those workers began to uncover and collect "arguments" against the critical comrade. Further investigation showed, however, leading functionaries did not have accounting records in order, were giving illegal loans, and misusing a service motor vehicle for private purposes, thus violating the discipline of the cooperative.

Because proper action by the Party to discipline and remove some economic managers was not taken in time, they were able to continue to make life difficult for this communist woman, who had directed attention to their harmful activity. The situation was corrected only after the district committee made a decision to punish the chairman of the unified agricultural cooperative with a Party reprimand, accompanied by a warning, and a recommendation for his recall from his function as manager. Similar actions were also taken against additional officials. This example also shows the necessity for the Party to take the necessary steps in time and not delay when the extent of a transgression is critical. Small errors and shortcomings can easily be corrected, and a comradely chat or advice is often enough. The solution of serious transgressions is usually a very difficult problem, which often affects not only the individual's life but his work site as well for a long time. Unnecessary delay and lack of principle in dealing with offenses of Party members and candidates cannot be tolerated, therefore.

All this obviously requires that every Party investigation should observe strict objectivity and impartiality and must proceed from verified facts, formulating the degree and level of the violation of the statutes with complete clarity. The findings by the CPCz Central Control and Audit Commission with regard to decisions on appeals and objections against meting out Party punishment attest to the correctness of the approach of the overwhelming majority of lower Party organs in their disciplinary activity. The same cannot be said about the quality of decisions by the basic organizations, who do not always consistently follow the September 18, 1971 directive of the CPCz Central Committee concerning disciplinary activity and solution of membership problems in CPCz organs and organizations.

A frequent mistake made is that of the committee of a basic organization deciding about instituting disciplinary action without having the membership meeting express its view by vote. This is contrary to the Party statutes. Article 8 of the statutes clearly states that a member or candidate whose transgression is being dealt with must be properly informed about the proceedings of the membership meeting, which decides the Party punishment. He must also be invited to attend the meeting.

The rule is not often observed that the adopted resolution about expelling a Party member is valid if no less than two-thirds of the Party members present at the meeting vote for it and if the resolution was confirmed by the district committee (article 8 of the statutes). For instance, at the membership meeting of basic organization No. 42 in Pardubice a two-thirds majority vote was not reached but nevertheless the proposal of expulsion was submitted to the presidium of the CPCz district committee for confirmation. Moreover, a list of those present was not prepared, making it impossible, therefore, to subsequently check participation by the communists in a membership meeting dealing with serious member problems. Several members of this Party organization correctly pointed out this fact. On the basis of their objection the district committee as well as the membership meeting of the basic organization of the CPCz must deal with the case in question a second time.

Even these few partial examples and information prove without a doubt that it is necessary to constantly rely on the statutes and, above all, correctly grasp the meaning of each article. The occasion of replacing membership cards and the discussions held at that time offer many good opportunities to evaluate how much the communists are aware of the importance of strict observance of the statutes. It is necessary to continue controlling their application and persistently strengthen that control.

Every functionary, and every member and candidate-member as well, should always view the statutes as a document which determines the organizational principles of Party construction, the norms of Party internal life and the manner of operating for Party organizations; and he should apply them accordingly. The struggle for their consistent enforcement in everyday life must be a foremost duty of all leading Party organs--of each basic organization and all Party members as well.

6314

CSO: 2400



## MILITARY APPRECIATION EDUCATION IN KINDERGARTENS URGED

Brno ROVNOST in Czech 23 Dec 79 p 6

[Article by Pavel Odrazil: "Continuous Attention to Military Education"]

[Text] The results of the last 2 years were evaluated at a recent kraj membership meeting of workers of commissions of okres national committee councils for military education and representatives of defense and social organizations, which take care of the implementation of the uniform system of military education of the population. The South Moravia Kraj can boast of significant achievements thanks to continuous attention of party organs, national committees, and of the National Front, dedicated activities of thousands of functionaries, rank-and-file workers, and citizens active in that area.

### Search for Reserves

In the implementation of military education of pupils, apprentices, and students, the functionaries in South Moravia acted primarily on the basis of the Law on JSBVO [Uniform System of Military Education of the Population] of 1973 and of the resolution of the presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee of January 1979. The ideological-political and military-professional content of the programs of the educational-cultural process of all categories of young people corresponds to the requirements of communist education of our young generation, in the spirit of the Leninist principles of unity of the creation and defense of the socialist fatherland. For example, the work of female teachers in kindergartens is documentary evidence of a good deal of ingenuity and pedagogical skill they use in military education.

### State in Kindergartens

What is equally successful is the balance account of military education of pupils in nine-year elementary schools. In this area, for example when dealing with military-political subjects, they use halls of revolutionary

and combat traditions, corners, walls, and blackboards. Each okres has at least three to five exhibits, which can be described without exaggeration as showcases. For purposes of ideological-educational influencing, teachers and pedagogical workers are using pledges of pioneers, gatherings with soldiers, meritorious party members, anti-fascist fighters, and pioneers of the socialist creation. Organizations and circles of the Czech Red Cross are helping substantially to influence young people. A testimony of this is given also by the fact that children's lives were saved by pupils attending schools in Bojanovice, Bohdalice, Nedvedice, and Vyskov. Military defense circles, particularly those led by military men, such as pioneer units of the Young Border Guards in the Breclav and Znojmo okreses, are an example of good cooperation with military units.

#### Youth Attending High Schools

A new form of education has been developed in secondary schools, namely military courses for boys attending the last grades of gymnasiums, secondary trade schools and educational establishments. The results of the organized military courses and practical exercises are appreciated, but there are also obvious reservations. The idea is that military exercises should not become mere excursions or contests, but rather a verification of knowledge acquired in theoretical courses of military education. Many pedagogues and schools steer military education to practical exercises and consolidation of the young people's skills. For example, they have built a shooting gallery at the gymnasium in Znojmo, in cooperation with the SRPS [Parent-Teacher Association], okres committee of Svazarm [Union for Cooperation with the Armed Forces], and other organs. Meritorious work has been done at the SZTS [Agricultural Technical Secondary School] in Valtice, Vyskov, Kromeriz, at the gymnasium of the Slovanske Square in Brno, at the SPS [State Industrial School] in Jedovnice, in secondary special educational establishments in Bzenec, Gottwaldov, Namest nad Oslavou, Slavkov, and Znojmo.

#### Special-Interest Military Activities

In the 1978-1979 school year alone, 111 secondary schools signed patronage contracts with military organizations, and 8,000 pupils, students, and apprentices worked in various special-interest circles of a military nature. Members of the Czech Union of Anti-Fascist Fighters organized more than 1,100 gatherings attended by 67,000 young people, took part in almost 250 marches of youth called "On Partisan Trails," in which 54,000 students and apprentices took part. In this way, the members of the CSPB [Czech Union of Anti-Fascist Fighters] had a significant share in the development of political awareness of our young people. One can mention innumerable examples of various military contests, games, and races of local and statewide significance, which are held in all okreses. Almost 5,000 pupils took part in the military contest "Partizan Submachine Gun" and the DZBZ [Dukla Military Fitness Contest] in the Blansko Okres. A total of 491 units with more than 10,000 participants took part in the

military game "March 30" in the Jihlava Okres. About 13,000 contestants in that okres participated in the SZBZ [Sokolov Military Fitness Contest] and DZBZ. Thanks to "CSS [Czechoslovak Student Union] 80," almost 57,000 physical fitness badges and almost 26,000 children's physical fitness badges were distributed. The most significant forms of implementing ideological-political goals of military education of children are sponsorships of graves of Soviet soldiers-liberators, which are assumed by pioneers and Svazarm members.

#### Work with Recruits

Just like in the previous period, the kraj committee of Svazarm has worked out the requirements of the Czechoslovak People's Army in terms of the preparation of recruits in 11 specialized fields, and four types of finishing training of reserves. The quality of the work in training centers for recruits is gradually improving, especially in the okreses of Brno-Rural, Hodonin, Kromeriz, Prostějov, Trebic, and Uherske Hradiste. Cooperation of training centers for recruits with units of the armed forces has been intensified. One should emphasize the very good results of cooperation with the commanding officers of certain military units. Increased effectiveness of political work with recruits, conducted on a mass scale, is reflected in the participation of the recruits in socialist competition, in their better participation in the training, and in better evaluation of the political and professional preparation of the recruits in the kraj. For example, all training centers for recruits in the Brno-Rural Okres were rated as excellent. Similarly good results were achieved in the Prostějov Okres, where 50 percent of recruits received badges for exemplary preparatory work. Socialist competition, in which 87 percent of recruits in our kraj participated, helped to strengthen further the education and training and also to induce a larger number of recruits to carry out their assignments for the benefit of the entire society.

#### Civil Defense

All those who share in the preparation of citizens for civil defense are trying to increase the efficiency, quality, and effectiveness of this military-educational process. Military and social organizations are regularly training 2,500 lecturers, propagandists, and trainers to handle the preparation of the population for civil defense. Improved quality of the organizational and management work of the commissions of councils of national committees, organs, and organizations has been also reflected in greater attendance at lectures. In 1978, a total of 856,000 citizens attended lectures on civil defense, while this year their number was more than 870,000.

#### Propaganda and Agitation Should Not Be Forgotten

All kraj and okres organizations shared differently in military propaganda and agitation. In order to coordinate adequately all drives of this type,

it was necessary to get a clear picture of them. Regardless whether it is a matter of exhibition with a military theme, Army Movies Day, gatherings with anti-fascist fighters, or lectures given by specialists from the Socialist Academy, all this should help to increase the effectiveness of military propaganda. People have also become accustomed to ceremonial presentation of orders for recruits when entering active service, and to their welcoming when they return from active military service. Even though the situation has obviously improved in that respect, it will be necessary to develop the work of the permanent military propaganda personnel, the agitation activities of commissions of national committee councils for military education, and their cooperation with the club of military and security service editors. It will be necessary in the nearest future to use mass communication media on a much greater scale for propaganda about the need for military defense, on the mission of the armed forces, the significance of military service, on the military-political aspect of international relations, and on the party's military policy.

#### The Tasks of the National Front

The commissions of the councils of the South Moravia Kraj National Committee, of the National Committee of the City of Brno, and of national okres committees in the krajs worked regularly and systematically. The irreplaceable role of kraj organs of the National Front is felt in the system of implementation of military education programs. These kraj organs direct and influence the work of their own lower-level units. Their goal is to coordinate the activities of individual organizations of the National Front. The role of the National Front is conspicuous in the formulation and content of election programs, especially in their ideological-educational and cultural parts. These also include military education. The kraj organs of the National Front are inducing honest citizens to take part in military education.

#### Recognition of the Best Workers

On the basis of a proposal by kraj organs, and at the recommendation made by the commission of the council of the South Moravia Kraj National Committee for military education, silver commemorative plaques "For Meritorious Service in the Development of the South Moravia Kraj" were awarded for dedicated political work over many years in the sector of military education to comrades Podplukovník Otakar Hrušický, chairman of the Svazarm kraj committee, and to Podplukovník Stanislav Kolomazník, secretary of the military council of the kraj national committee in Kromeriz. Other deserving workers received bronze commemorative plaques and public commendation from the council of the South Moravia Kraj National Committee. The whole pleiad of the recipients of the awards has merely completed the picture of the successful period for all those who are active in the area of military education. The presence of Plukovník Emil Djubek, worker in the department of state organs of the CPCZ Central Committee, and other prominent guests have confirmed that the results obtained by the workers in the South Moravia Kraj are not negligible. One can only hope that they will carry out fully their resolutions for the forthcoming period.



## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### LUCAN DENOUNCES CRITICS OF PACEM IN TERRIS MOVEMENT

LD061438 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 6 Feb 80 LD

[Text] Today's session of the second all-state congress of the Association of Catholic Clergy, Pacem in Terris, was addressed by Federal Deputy Premier Matej Lucan. He stressed that the deliberations at the congress have clearly showed that there is agreement on the ways of dealing with major questions between the church and the state as well as on the fact that the Pacem in Terris association intends to continue playing an active part in the socialist construction of our country. Speaking about the state church policy, Comrade Matej Lucan said: [begin recording]

The relationship of our state toward religion is expressed by the constitution of the CSSR which insures the right to religious freedom. In applying this right the government is helping to create the necessary conditions. In 1979 alone our state earmarked more than kcs198 million for the maintenance of church institutions. In the past 2 decades dozens of churches have been built in the CSSR. Church newspapers are being published in considerable editions as well as religious publications, literature and other material, even though the size of the editions--and this does not apply only to publications with a religious content--is still not as high as would be required.

The training of new theologians is insured, our clergymen travel abroad widely, they attend theological and other conferences and take an active part in them. They are taking advantage of tourist facilities.

Religious instruction is provided at schools wherever this is the wish of the parents. All social benefits of our social system apply to members of the clergy just as to all citizens of our state.

We say quite openly that we are building our social system on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, scientific socialism, and we are seeking to educate our working people precisely in that spirit. But the church is guided by its own theological teaching and it acts in its spirit. This in itself testifies to the profoundly democratic character of our social system.

It is no accident that the enemies of socialism are conducting a crusade against the Pacem in Terris movement too. They describe it as a communist organization. Each of you as you are present here know only too well that this is a voluntary association of the Roman Catholic clergy in Czechoslovakia.



You are honest priests and servants of the church and you are guided by its rules. But why, then, are you the target of criticism? Simply because you are at the same time behaving as citizens of your state, because you make no secret of your realistic approach to it, because you have understood that it is not enough just to pray for peace but that one must fight for it actively.

We believe that your attitude is not in contradiction but in accordance with the conclusions of the Second Vatican Council, with the policy mapped out by Pope John XXIII and which was enshrined in the encyclical *pacem in terris* from which your movement has after all taken its name.

Pope Paul VI also subscribed to this policy, and we have noted with satisfaction that Pope John Paul II intends to pursue it as well. [end recording]

CSO: 2400

NEWSPAPER COMMENTS ON BREAD BEING WASTED

AU251445 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Jan 80 p 2 AU

[Commentary by Ondrej Dobos in the column "Notes": "A Piece of Bread in the House"]

[Text] When I went to visit some relatives in a new district in Bratislava-Petrzalka I was able to observe the garbage collectors at work. They went about their task conscientiously and they even, it seemed to me, took considerable risks. Whenever the machine lifted the heavy container and turned it upside down so that its contents would land inside the special vehicle, one or another of the men would climb under the monstrosity hanging overhead and start extracting from the stream of garbage being poured out--pieces of bread. Not small pieces, but quarters of loaves, and halves, and some even almost whole. He was saving from the fire in the incinerating plant everything that could still serve at least as fodder for cattle. But how much bread had already escaped these men, despite all the effort and despite the risk they were exposing themselves to?

Bread is cheap in our country and there is enough of it. This tempts many people, particularly the younger ones, to set but little store by bread; their consciences do not prick them in the least when they throw it out into the garbage bins, even the loaves that are scarcely touched. They do not realize how much work is concealed in every slice of bread; they do not think about the increasing difficulties in buying bread on foreign markets and about our having to pay more and more for it every time.

Naturally when we got to our relatives we spoke about "bread" and about the way it is being wasted in our country they fully agreed that bread should not be wasted, just as other food should not be wasted. But it is one thing to agree, and quite another thing to be able to prevent waste. As long as they lived in their old apartment in town, bread lasted them at least 3 days, and in winter 1 week. But here, in the new apartment, bread is green with mold already on the third day. Dry bread can be used for food by making it into toast and so forth; but what can one do with moldy bread?

Undoubtedly the fact that bread is being so unforgivably wasted in our country is due, and ingloriously so, to the bakers, who are still opposing what is a matter of course elsewhere--baking smaller loaves, loaves weighing

half a kilogram, for instance. The builders are not without blame either, since they are lagging in the construction of shops in new settlements and thus, in fact, force the citizens to buy larger quantities--even of bread--to last them more than a day or two. And the designers are "seeing to it" that in new apartments the space for storing foodstuffs is more or less reliably becoming increasingly smaller. And finally, the materialization of the idea of visibly marking containers for unusable bread or other food is incomprehensibly dragging out of all proportion.

CSO: 2400

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### BRIEFS

TRADE UNIONS, WOMEN COOPERATION--Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, received in Prague today representatives of the Czechoslovak Women's movement, led by Marie Kabrhelova, member of the Secretariat of the party Central Committee and chairman of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Union of Women. A further deepening of cooperation between the revolutionary trade union movement and the Czechoslovak Union of Women was discussed during the meeting. Further possibilities still exist in particular in the cooperation between district organs of the two organizations and also often in the work of women's commissions of works and workshop committees of the revolutionary trade union movement. Social conditions of working women, the raising of qualifications and other questions being solved by the two organizations were also in the forefront of attention. [Text]  
[LD311400 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT  
31 Jan 80 LD]

U.S. WOMEN OFFICIALS RECEIVED--Marie Kabrhelova, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat and chairman of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Union of Women, received (Winnie Barents), vice chairman of the progressive U.S. women's organization "Women for Racial and Economic Equality," in Prague today. Comrade Marie Kabrhelova today also met Ilse Thiele, chairman of the Democratic Women's Union of Germany. [Text]  
[LD312357 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 31 Jan 80 LD]

TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS--At his Bratislava press conference on 29 January Lt Col J. Krajci, head of administration of the disciplinary and traffic services in the Slovak Ministry of Interior, stated that the 27,620 traffic accidents on Slovak roads in 1979 had caused damages estimated at kcs137 million, and the deaths of 567 people. Compared with the figures in 1978, the damages have decreased by almost kcs9 million and the death figure by 128. [AU311325 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 30 Jan 80 p 1 AU]

CZECH-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP MEETING--Jindrich Polednik, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, spoke today in the discussion at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association in Prague. He paid tribute to the successes achieved by members of the association since the 8th congress of their organization in the fulfillment of the party's policy and in applying (?the conclusions) of the 14th meeting

of the CPCZ Central Committee in the work of social organizations. He stressed the need for higher effectiveness and higher quality of their activities, for an exacting approach to all activities in all sectors and for concentration of efforts on the solution of basic problems. Comrade Jindrich Polednik also recalled the need for good preparation and training of the aktiv of officials and for cooperation between social organizations of the national front. Toward the end of his speech he recalled that the important anniversaries this year are again an occasion to prove what the friendship and all-round cooperation with the USSR mean for us. [Text] [LD312238 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 31 Jan 80 LD]

SVAZARM DISCUSSES POLITICAL WORK--In Prague on 25 January, a plenary session of the Czech Central Committee of the Union for the Cooperation With the Army (SVAZARM) discussed the state of SVAZARM's political-educational work. The meeting concentrated on the need to raise the effectiveness of work aimed at "forming paramilitary consciousness as a part of communist education." SVAZARM has about 600,000 members at present. [AU319002 Prague ZEMEDEL'SKE NOVINY in Czech 26 Jan 80 p 1 AU]

VISITING EGYPTIAN POLITICIAN--In Prague in 25 January, M. Stepan, chairman of the International Students' Union, received Kabari Abollah, Politburo member of the Patriotic Front of Egypt [name and title as published]. The two sides stressed the gravity of the situation of millions of "Egyptian patriots" brought about by President Anwar Al-Sadat's "treasonable, reactionary policy." On the occasion of the first anniversary of the "capitulationist" Egyptian-Israeli talks, the Secretariat of the International Students' Union issued a proclamation calling on all world progressive youth to campaign against the intrigues of imperialism in the Middle East. [AU319002 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 26 Jan 80 p 2 AU]

GERMAN LANGUAGE IN SLOVAK SCHOOLS--In Slovakia this year, a total of 25,442 pupils up to 15 years of age are studying German at elementary schools; more than 25,000 students at secondary schools, about 22,000 at vocational schools and 5,161 persons are studying German in evening and language schools. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Jan 80 p 2 AU]

PRAGUE POPULATION GETTING YOUNGER--Almost 48 percent--or some 556,000--of the people living in Prague are under 35 years of age currently. [Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech 1 Feb 80 p 2 AU]

NEW TU AUDITING OFFICIALS--At the session of the Czech Trade Union Council Auditing Commission [date not given], Josef Horsky was elected the new non-relieved [neuvolneny] chairman of the auditing commission; and Karel Dvoracek the new vice-chairman. The ex-chairman Jan Travnicek is retiring. [Prague PRACE in Czech 1 Feb 80 p 3 AU]

VISITING IRISH COMMUNIST--On 1 February M. O'Riordan, secretary general of the Irish Communist Party, met in Prague with deputy heads of CPCZ Central Committee department, M. Stefanak and V. Janku; in a friendly and comradely talk they exchanged opinions on the development of relations between the two fraternal parties. They also discussed matters concerning the present development of the international communist and workers movement, and international relations. [Text] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Feb 80 p 2 AU]



REGULATIONS ON DISCIPLINARY AUTHORITY, RESPONSIBILITIES EXPLAINED

East Berlin AR ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 1, Jan 80 signed to press  
29 Oct 79 pp 34-35

['AR Information' series: "Disciplinary Authority and Disciplinary responsibilities"]

[Text] The protection of peace and socialism obligates each member of the NVA [National People's Army] and of GDR border troops to maintain a high level of military discipline. It is a decisively important prerequisite for a continually high level of fighting strength and combat readiness, and it is necessary for uniform and compact action and for achieving victory in armed combat. Military discipline is based on an understanding of the inevitable laws and objective requirements of social development, military life, and modern warfare. The methods used for the maintenance and solidification of military discipline and the motives for disciplined conduct are determined by the interests of the working people, and especially of the working class. In the following AR Information Report we shall acquaint you with important stipulations of Service Regulation DV 010/06/006 (Disciplinary Authority and Disciplinary Responsibility).

Military discipline in the NVA and the border troops of the GDR finds expression in the following:

- a) Strict observance of the socialist constitution and the other legal regulations of the GDR, as well as conscious adherence to the loyalty oath;
- b) Exact, unconditional, and aggressive implementation and fulfillment of orders, service regulations, and other military directives;
- c) Conscious acceptance of one's place in and subordination to the norms established in our socialist society, the interests of the military collective, and the wishes of superiors acting in the pursuit of their social mission;

- d) A high level of class vigilance and strict observance of military secrecy requirements.

Military discipline calls for application of all one's mental and physical facilities, creative abilities, and initiative. It calls for resolution and active involvement and it enables the members of our military forces to attain a high level of military skill, to endure stress, to overcome difficulties, and to be victorious in armed combat. Every superior must call for and carry through a high level of military disciplines, must teach his subordinates how to maintain strict military discipline, and must develop and reinforce their sense of honor and duty. In so doing he must at all times serve as their example. The subordinates must obey their superiors unconditionally. As a rule, only immediate superiors have disciplinary authority vis-a-vis their subordinate members of the NVA and the border troops of the GDR.

#### Commendatory Actions

There are the following types of commendatory action:

- a) A verbal expression of gratitude
- b) Cancellation of a disciplinary penalty
- c) A one-time extra pass with or without an extension of the customary pass period
- d) A letter to the individual's place of employment, or to his spouse, or to his parents concerning his exemplary performance of duty
- e) Special leave of up to 3 days
- f) A monetary or material award
- g) An entry concerning the individual in the Book of Honor, and presentation of a certificate
- h) Listing of the individual's name on the honor roll and presentation of a certificate
- i) Photographing the individual concerned in front of the unfurled flag of his unit and presentation of a certificate with the photograph
- k) Early promotion to the next service rank level
- l) Mention of the individual's name in the instruction and information gazette of the Ministry for National Defense, and presentation of a certificate
- m) Award of an engraved officer's dagger or an engraved firearm

The types of commendatory action listed under g), h), i), and l), may be combined with a monetary or material award. Special leaves and passes are to be granted within a month after announcement of the commendatory action. This time limit may be extended only in substantiated exceptional cases. As a rule, letters to an individual's place of employment or to his spouse, or to his parents should be read out aloud in front of his unit or troop formation. In cases when a military collective is commended via a monetary award, such award is to be used primarily for measures which reinforce the collective and promote spiritual and cultural life.

In the company, the superiors are authorized to take commendatory action as follows: The group leader may express his gratitude and cancel a disciplinary penalty which had previously been imposed on the individual concerned. Beyond this, the first sergeant and the platoon leaders may grant a special pass with or without any extension of the pass period. Company chiefs are additionally authorized to send a letter to an individual's place of employment or to his spouse or to his parents concerning his exemplary military duty fulfillment and to grant 1 day's special leave. This applies to soldiers, noncommissioned officer and officer candidates, as well as to noncommissioned officers.

#### Disciplinary Responsibility

Discipline infractions as per Service Regulation DV 010/0/006 are culpable violations of the established order set forth in valid legal specifications, orders, service regulations, and other military directives. Upon having been informed of a disciplinary offense committed by one of his subordinates, the superior must interrogate him about the matter and about the circumstances under which the offense was committed. If necessary, the matter is to be investigated further. If it is a case of culpable conduct, the individual concerned must be held accountable for it. In determining a disciplinary penalty, one must take into due consideration the type and consequence of and the causes and conditions which influenced the disciplinary offense, the type and gravity of the committed offense, the comrade's conduct prior to the offense, and any prior commendations and unliquidated disciplinary penalties.

The following disciplinary penalties may be imposed:

- a) Censure
- b) Reprimand
- c) Severe reprimand
- d) Up to five extra-duty assignments (except guard duty and regular daily duty)
- e) Denial of passes and short-time leaves for a period of up to 4 weeks

- f) Up to 10 days' detention in a military prison
- g) Up to 10 days' confinement to barracks
- h) Cautionary reprimand for neglect of service duties
- i) Lowering of the service assignment level of the individual concerned
- k) Reduction in military rank by one or several steps with or without a lowering of the service assignment of the individual concerned
- l) Dismissal from active military service (after completion of the basic military service term) with or without military rank reduction by one or several steps.

It is not permitted to punish the same disciplinary infraction with several disciplinary actions, nor may one disciplinary penalty be combined with another. Collective penalties are prohibited. Furthermore, disciplinary penalties may not be imposed without prior determination of their extent.

Decisions to impose more severe type of disciplinary punishment are made if the individual concerned has on several prior occasions committed offenses against military discipline, if several members of the armed forces participated in committing a disciplinary offense, if the latter was committed in the course of guard duty and regular daily duty assignments, or in connection with the execution of combat tasks, or while under the influence of alcohol, or if there is a case of substantial infraction of military discipline or public order. If the superior makes the assessment that his disciplinary authority is inadequate for imposing punishment, he may recommend that it be imposed by a superior on a higher level. It is possible for the superior to deal with a disciplinary offense in a military collective.

As a matter of principle, each disciplinary penalty is to be imposed within 10 days from the day on which the superior was informed of the disciplinary offense or from the day on which a military court decision has become legally valid. If farther-reaching investigation is required, this applies as of the day on which the results of such investigation are presented. As a rule, disciplinary punishment is to be carried out immediately but, at the latest, it must begin one month after a sentence has been pronounced.

Those on whom disciplinary punishment has been imposed are entitled to submit an appeal. The appeal has to be presented to the superior of the individual who has imposed it, or it has to be submitted through official channels. The execution of disciplinary punishment is not interrupted by submission of an objection, except in cases when the superior to whom it is addressed, issues an order to this effect.

Disciplinary punishment is canceled only in cases when the comrade concerned carries out his military duties in an exemplary manner. This may happen only by means of the commendatory action entitled "Cancellation of a Disciplinary Penalty." Disciplinary penalties which have not been liquidated must be annulled after the passage of 1 year, calculated from the day of an individual's last disciplinary punishment. Consequently, the individual concerned must have had no disciplinary penalties for the period of one year before a recorded penalty can be liquidated without an appropriate commendatory action.

8272

CSO: 2300



SHIP-TO-SHIP GUIDED MISSILE LAUNCHING EXERCISE DESCRIBED

East Berlin AR ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 1, Jan 80 signed to press  
29 Oct 79 pp 36-41

[Article by Lt Col Horst Spickereit: "No One Escapes This One!"]

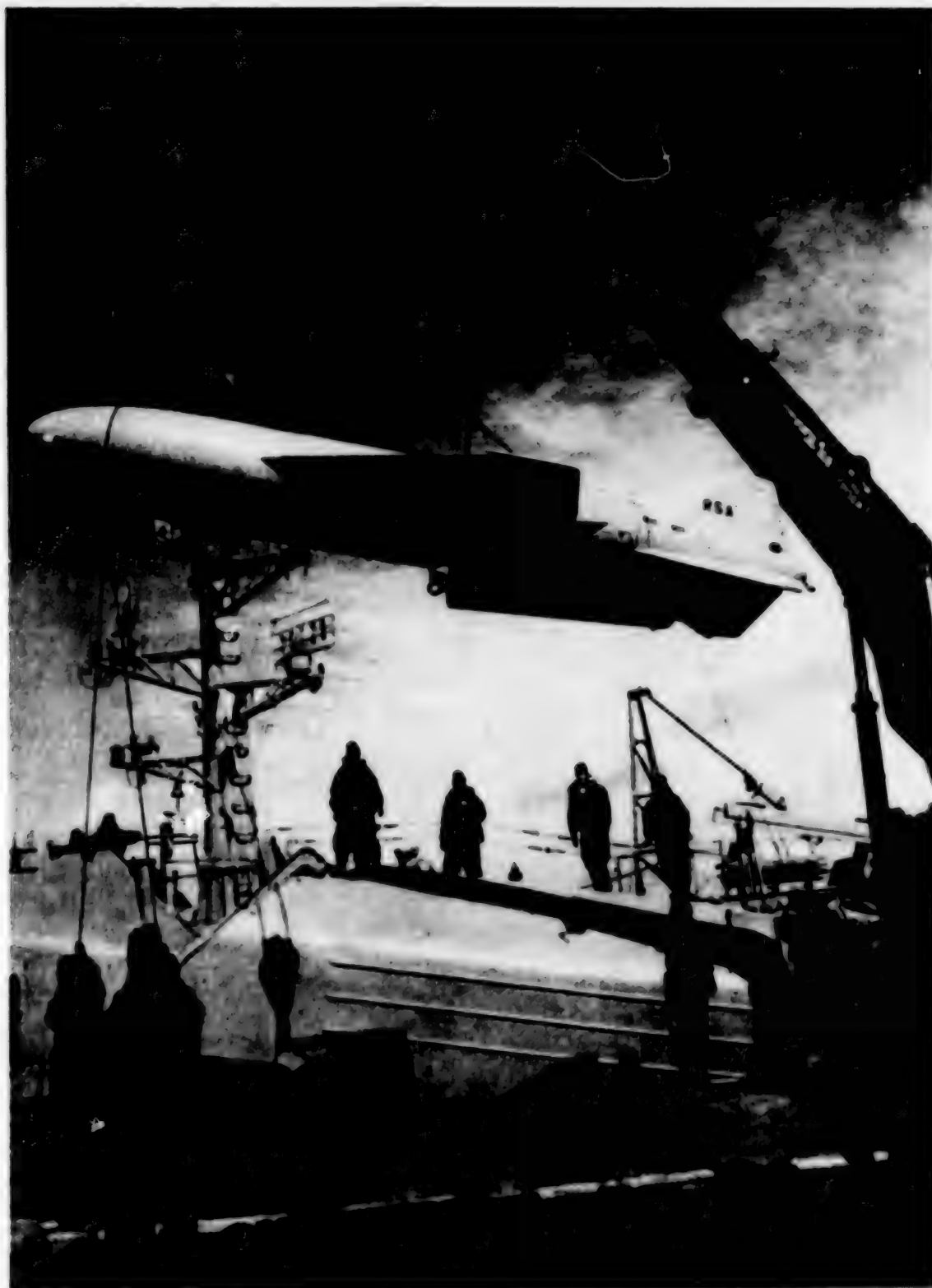
[Text] "No one escapes this one!" says the lieutenant commander, nodding his head for emphasis. As the captain of the "Heinrich Dorrenbach," he had just finished presenting his ship to us. He had talked about the powerful engines, mentioned the electronic gear, shown us the missiles. They were the object of his admiring exclamation quoted above. For years, he said, the ships in his brigade had made excellent scores in firing exercises. This, he said, was the result of two factors: "Flawless Soviet technology and--of course--the tremendous expertise of the crews." His colleagues too had eagerly used the preceding months to prepare for a successful firing exercise together with the Soviet brothers-in-arms: ship board training in their home ports and in training facilities; cramming of regulations; norm exercises, training exercises at sea. "Success is created before the firing starts. We will see tomorrow whether this has been effective." However, several hours will pass before this happens; this afternoon the "Dorrenbach" will first have to pass another test.

Her missiles will be gone over with a fine tooth comb; they will be inspected here in the Soviet base.

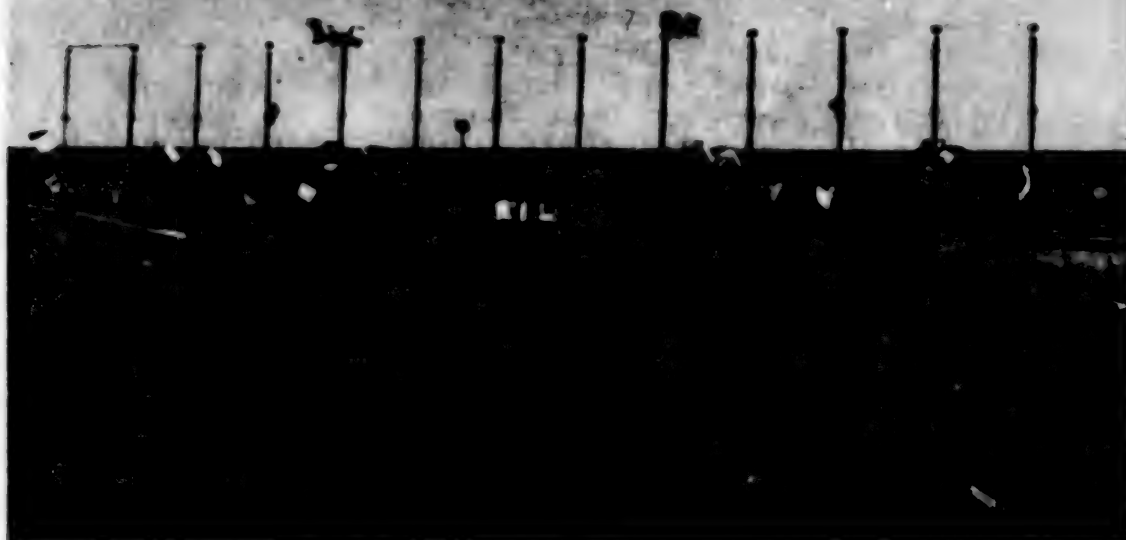
The ship proceeds carefully through a narrow channel, passes other combat vessels and docks in a tiny harbor basin. The captain's eyes dart back and forth between port and starboard, bow and stern. Every centimeter is important while docking at the pier. But our reporters' eyes are scanning the skies. They are grey and there are rain squalls. Not a very good prospect for taking pictures. But soon the sun comes out again, bathing the drenched scene in brilliant light. The photographer is ecstatic: he will be able to shoot in color!

A crane lift truck approaches the pier in fits and starts. Spectators come around, workers from the neighboring shops, off-duty sailors. They do not want to miss watching the missiles being fished out of the ship's belly. "Ramps secured? Receiving crew ready?" The first watch officer--the captain's executive officer--is directing the proceedings with his bullhorn. The hanger crew and its helpers must be very careful. Rain

drops are glistening on the deck. A treacherous surface. How easy it would be to slip! How easy it would be for someone to bump against the floating missile, to disturb its equilibrium while suspended! But the sailors exercise care and firmly grasp the missile by its shroudlines.



*So fotografierten wir die Zielprehne vor und nach dem Schießen. Die Kästen an den Aufbauten sind Reflektoren. Sie dienen der Zielauche der Raketen.*



These photographs show the target barge before and after the firing. The boxes attached to the masts are reflectors designed to aid the target-seeking missiles.

The Soviet crane operator is an expert too. Carefully he hoists the long weapon, guides it around the ship's superstructure and deposits it softly on the transporter. "Like a raw egg," says the captain. "We cannot afford to have a dent in the missile. Who knows how that might affect its flight!" He continues to worry. Will the inspection station certify the missiles to be in perfect shape? Has the main weapon been properly cared for? Have our rocket technicians been meticulous enough in their work? Have the delicate mechanisms been damaged during the long crossing to the base and during yesterday's exercises at sea?

The specialists uncover some of the openings on the body of the missile, move some cables around, take readings on the measuring instrument, compare data, move a lever here and there. "O.K.!" They disconnect the instruments. "Everything in good shape. German rocket techs have done good work," they call out to our missile guidance technician. Carefully, one missile after the other is returned on board. The "Dorrenbach"'s crew is happy. "If things go as well tomorrow...."

The next morning we get up early. The staff of the host fleet has given the reporters permission to ride along on a Soviet ship which will escort our missile speed boats. We had requested permission to take pictures of the boats themselves since during launch nobody is permitted on the upper deck, everything is tightly closed up and only the small central window on the bridge remains accessible. But, worse luck, there seems to have been a hangup somewhere in the press procedure. In any case, we manage to get on board a hydrofoil torpedo speed boat at the last moment. The captain is glad to see reporters from the GDR, leafs through the copies of ARMEE RUNDSCHAU we have given him with interest and asks what he can do for us. When we tell him, he turns serious and shakes his head. "I will be working the target area, not the launch area." We reporters look at each other with dismay. We are on the wrong ship! There is no way to go back; we are on the high seas. Have all our efforts come to nothing? The captain is aware of our thoughts. "Stand by!" He descends to the lower bridge and returns, smiling, 10 minutes later. He has spoken with his superior. To help his German comrades, he has obtained permission to proceed to the launch area immediately after completing the target area control. We are relieved and pat him on the back. He would have deserved a glass of vodka! Instead, we get a taste of salt water which sprays all the way up to the bridge. The boat travels at full speed. No time is to be lost if the captain is to fulfill all his tasks. After 1 hour's fast ride across the wave crests and troughs which shakes us up somewhat, he points ahead: the targets! All we can see is the grayish-blue sea. But then we see them: three flat pontoon barges, equipped with masts and netting between them. You mean to say that the missile speed boats are supposed to find these rusty little pots and hit them with their main weapons? We are a little skeptical. Our vehicle makes two turns around the target group, then races back at high speed.

We reach the launch area just in time. Three, then four missile speed boats take their positions. We no longer see any orange-red color on their bridges, meaning that the men in their bright combat gear have already taken up battle stations below deck; the order "Combat alert for missile attack" had been given. The hangar covers are opened, the prelaunch test



of the missiles is under way: a short final check to see whether the rudder angles are correct, the autopilot is functioning, the gyroscope is operating....

Over our Soviet host's crackling ultra-shortwave receiver we hear commands. They come from the launch director, are acknowledged by the captains. In Russian. It is the usual, uniform command language in the Warsaw Pact armed forces. The "Dorrenbach" receives the Russian code signal to take her battle position. In our mind's eye, we can see the radar petty officer on the boat, working hard in his dark, cramped closet. We see him squatting in front of his radar console, transferring the tiny target blip from the cathode ray screen to the precision viewing tube, dexterously moving the sight to the center of the target, getting a fix on direction and distance. His neighbor, the radar operator, feeds these and other data into the computer. Together they determine the exact flight course.

The "Dorrenbach"'s bow waves rise higher, as does the pitch of her engines. Her speed increases. With the target firmly in her sights, she races toward the "enemy." The captain is about to press the start button and thereby close the electric circuit. Right away the boat is enveloped by a massive ball of fire. The missile shoots upward with a rush, swings into a horizontal position and speeds on its way. The red and yellow dot on the horizon disappears from sight forever. Shortly after, the other boats launch their missiles.



Type of a Soviet Ship-to-Ship Guided Missile

1. Warhead.
2. Missile Body.
3. Air Foil.
4. Vertical fin (Keel).
5. Rudder.
6. Jet Engine Exhaust Nozzle.
7. Elevator.
8. Booster Rocket Engine.



Our torpedo speed boat races ahead for the strike evaluation. Will the number of strikes correspond with the number of missiles launched? We are in suspense. When we arrive at the target, we find devastation: broken masts, disheveled nets, torn up reflectors. For the layman, it is a mess. But the Soviet captain and other officers on board have experience in determining strike locations. One at a time, they explain to us the characteristics signs of hits and note their total. The calculation comes out even: none of the missiles missed its target. What was it again that the captain of the "Dorrenbach" had said? "No one escapes this one!"

9273

CSO: 2300

## POSSIBLE POLISH 'EXPLOSION' SCENARIO SKETCHED OUT

Paris KULTURA in Polish No 12, Dec 79 pp 20-27

[Article by Jadwiga Kwiatkowska: "The Course of Events in 198-"]

[Text] In May or June 1978 maneuvers took place at the military airfield in Goclawek in Warsaw. Selected units of "boys from Golezdzinow" took part in these maneuvers. They were armed with plastic (but strong) transparent shields and long rubber truncheons stiffened with lead. The period of preparations for dispersing street demonstrations began. The descendants of the Boryns, Radeks, and Slimaks and the descendants of the Baryks advanced in close order against the enemy. Adroit commanders formed new ranks and files and created new situations. The well-fed knights of public order dashingly waved their truncheons, water cannon prepared the field of attack, and tear gas grenades burst, dispersing the invisible crowd.

Training is training; these were not the first training exercises and certainly not the last. Lately, however, there seems to have been more of them. This is called an intensification of training and is something along the lines of combat readiness. There was no reason to wonder about this, since the nation seemed to be dissatisfied, the opposition was gaining a multitude of overt and covert supporters, things in general were not too good, and frequently they were even downright bad. A ferment began under the skin of society: on the surface there seemed to be peace, but at bottom anything could be expected.

Until something happened, however, the Militia and Security Service amused themselves with guerrilla warfare. Somebody would be locked up, let go, and then locked up again. Here a search, there a raid on a copier and the confiscation of an edition of samizdats. Over there the lecturer of a self-education circle was thrown in jail, the students were dispersed, and someone got beaten up, taken out of town, and dumped in a ditch. Special writer sections composed smutty verses about opposition activists, and these creations were assiduously sent out by mail. But in general things were rather quiet, without shocks, delicate. Well, maybe it should be added that an information-propaganda bombshell was being silently prepared: television films about the private life of the opposition and how it insulted the dignity of the nation, article uncovering the perfidiousness of the enemies of the people, photomontages, and fabricated documents.

The conflict began to increase in intensity in mid-198-. The economic situation of the country was becoming ever more desperate: investments were proving obsolete already at the moment they were brought into use, hidden and open price rises exceeded pay increases by so much that making ends meet became an art verging on rope-walking, and stores terrified comers with their empty shelves. The opposition was constantly getting allies, even in spheres directly linked to the authorities. It became ever clearer that the social ferment had to find some outlet.

Nevertheless, the balance of power "at the top" was still unsurmised. One order countermanded another order, disorder increased, and tendencies intended to increase the power of The Center were openly sabotaged by regional centers. The dissatisfaction of the countryside, enhanced by crop failure, found expression in peasant revolts. The number of strikes in large industrial centers had long since ceased to be marginal phenomenon. In academic circles demonstrations openly opposing Party policy were more and more frequent. Everything was breaking apart simultaneously. Police interventions in one place caused an immediate reaction in another. News penetrated the barriers between social groups. The silence of the press irritated the people more and more.

All this caused anxiety in the neighboring countries, most of all, it caused unhappiness in Moscow. Poland's Party leaders were upbraided with increasing severity during their traditionally friendly visits to the Kremlin. They were ordered to suppress the disturbances as rapidly as possible, the threat of a change in the ruling team was used, and they were unequivocally given to understand that the entire affair could end with Poland's getting fraternal assistance. Especially evident was the anxiety of the leaders of the GDR, for whom this Polish disobedience and this ferment in the "country on the Wisla" were a dangerous example for their own subjects. This entire game was also not to the taste of the viceroys of Czechoslovakia.

In the meantime, the West was churning with speculations. The Russians were unequivocally given to understand that a repeated application of the "Brezhnev Doctrine" could lead to unforeseen consequences and they were reminded about the possibility of a complete breaking of economic relations and of the possibility that loans and grain sales might be suspended.

The greatly weakened unity of the communist movement was threatened with complete collapse. China reminded Russia about analogies with 1956, and Rumania made use of the entire situation to strengthen its own independence, reminding the Russians that the Warsaw Pact is a defensive alliance. What was worse, Hungary seemed to be raising its head after the lesson it had received in the memorable year 1956.

Matters could not, however, be left to take their own course. The situation was becoming unbearable. In addition, although everyone was privately talking about disturbances, officially no one knew anything about anything and no one could officially know anything about anything. The press continued to carry reports about fulfillment and over-fulfillment of plans and about the development of the attack on the wide front of harvest work, about the fast repair of schools, and about the annual lack of cooling drinks. This was because the most important thing was not to cause panic. In accordance with Marxist theory, a thing which is not named does not exist, so things were not called by name.

Finally the storm broke. This time, for a change, in Lodz. The Lodz events of August 198- found a permanent place in the calendar of Polish history. Their tragic course became the cause of an avalanche of revolt in other places.

It began innocently. Luck had it that one of the workers of some cotton mill was fired deservedly so, actually for stealing. Supposedly no big thing, but this woman, who had no husband was supporting three children. Since the firing was effective immediately, she was for all practical purposes, left without a livelihood. Her colleagues intervened in the trade unions, asking that the woman be given one more chance. The matter would probably have been settled favourably, but, because theft had exceeded the silently accepted norms, the management recognized that this firing was to be an example for the rest of the workers. It became a matter of prestige. The comrades of the one who had been fired, however, determined to stand actively in her defense, on the assumption that perhaps she had been justly fired, but that in this case, in precisely this case, the entire matter should have been treated in a more human manner, not so formally.

In view of the tense situation, the Party organization called an open meeting in order to appeal to their reason. The meeting was transformed into a rally at which all the dirt was pulled out from under the carpet and demands were made that all tense issues, of which a considerable number had accumulated in this plant be resolved simultaneously. Satisfying these demands was, of course, not possible. The ferment among the work force increased. Finally the women mustered for a strike. A strike like all others, supposedly nothing, but. . .

That was the point. The reply to the strike was the immediate firing of the six women recognized to be its organizers. The next day half of Lodz was in the streets, marching to the city Party headquarters.

The activity of the opposition was visible in this. This time the crowd was, as it were, organized and more resolute than ever before. It stopped in front of the Party building and sent a group of delegates with a previously prepared list of demands. At stake were basic existential demands and. . . recognition of an independent trade union which had already been organized and whose representatives were the delegates. These demands were, of course, unacceptable and the last one was recognized as a slap in the face against the People's power.



They reacted first by arresting the delegates, second by mobilizing the Militia for action. Rocks flew at the Militia from the crowd. And it turned out that training is one thing, a real battle with a crowd is another: a pregnant woman was fatally injured. Disturbances began throughout the city.

The central authorities released the usual communique about hooligan goings-on in Lodz. A curfew was ordered in Lodz itself. The rioting, however, could not be localized. What was worse, the disturbances encompassed all social groups: worker, peasant, and academic circles. The authorities commenced arresting the opposition activists. At the same time, the propaganda campaign prepared for such an occasion was set in motion.

In view of the spreading revolt, the army occupied all the more important sites: the electrical works, the gas works, the radio stations, etc. A chain reaction of strikes spread like lightning, but not spontaneously; it was visible that worker circles had been prepared for undertaking such activities. Getting food was more and more difficult, bands of hooligans loitered about on the streets of cities, there were terrorist attacks modelled on the activities of Western groups, a curfew was in force throughout the country, and the black market was spreading. Radio and television ceaselessly broadcast appeals to remain calm.

A week after the first demonstration in Lodz so-called military tribunals were created. This was a move against the monopoly of the Militia; the army was slowly grasping control over the country. A new Party First Secretary was appointed and the entire hitherto ruling team was removed. The Sejm was dissolved and elections during the coming year were promised. The workers of the key industrial plants, mines, social services, and especially the health service were mobilized. The universities and schools were closed until further notice. Ration cards were introduced for essential items, which was a necessity in view of the unheard of increase in black market prices and the scarcity of foodstuffs in stores.

At the beginning of the following week a group of military men, together with the Party First Secretary, flew to Moscow for negotiations with the Communist leaders of the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, and the GDR. At the same time discussions were begun with the arrested opposition leaders and the mass media propaganda campaign directed against these social activists was suspended.

The contest between the police and the army continued; it was not open, of course, and barely visible from the outside. After a week the superiority

of the army became a fact. The army also took control over the activities of the police, especially in larger urban areas.

After a five day absence the delegation returned from Moscow. A communique was issued: "Guided by concern for the good of the nation and acting in an exceptionally difficult situation, our delegation turned to the authorities of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries of our camp to guarantee the inviolability of the borders of the Polish state. At the same time our delegation assured its partners about the unceasing and immediate readiness of Poland to fulfill all the obligations resulting from the membership of our country in the Warsaw Pact." This was the only communique about the talks which had been conducted, although it was obvious that this was just a show-window dummy intended to hide their real course.

The further course of events demonstrated that there must have been an unusually dramatic conflict between the military authorities from Poland and the Kremlin leaders. One of the things indicating this was a statement by China which brought up the support "given by the entire Chinese nation to the anti-hegemonist and anti-imperialist attitudes of other nations" and the joint declaration of the member states of the Warsaw Pact which talked about the "intrigues of specific forces intending to violate the binding principles of the peaceful coexistence of nations."

A Party Congress was called immediately, at which a new leadership was elected. Military men made up most of the Political Bureau. New voivodship secretaries were appointed. One of the major resolutions of the Congress was to create an Economic Reform Commission. The creation of an Administrative Court and a Constitutional Bureau were also demanded. A reorganization of the internal affairs ministry was ordered. The censorship office was changed in such a manner that its legal status was specified and an open appeals system was introduced.

A month after the return of the delegation from Moscow the work forces of industrial plants were demobilized. Arrested oppositionists were released from the prisons and the statutes of newly created social associations were confirmed.

The Western press more and more frequently mentioned the "radical changes" in Poland and the precepts flowing for the countries of the Eastern Bloc from the "Czech lesson." In some commentaries there appeared references to "the Portuguese model" and the "Spanish road to democratization." In both cases the allusion pertained to the activeness of the military. Theoretical interpretations of the events in Poland multiplied. The role of "enlightened officers" was ascribed prime importance and the fact was emphasized that the army as an institution can constitute the organizational framework of a modern society. At the same time voices were raised about

the danger of a "military dictatorship" or about a "state within a state." The possibility of a similar revolt in Russia was considered. "The contemporary army," stated a DIE ZEIT commentator, "subordinates decaying social structures to itself. Seeing their inefficiency, the army realizes the influence which this can have on its own ability to act. The passivity of the army in Czechoslovakia in 1968 must have become a warning signal for Poland. In order to save its capability for action, the army must seek to transform the structures of the entire state apparatus. This transformation must perforce lead to social democratization." It was proven that technical progress and the scientific-technical revolution and all those things had led to a situation in which methods of administrative manipulation are not in a position to achieve their end. Those methods were compared to methods which are less easily felt by society; democratization of life here is only an illusionary concession, since the enslavement of the masses proceeds, as in the West, by means of blocking their activity by exploiting the potentialities of the means for mass control. The cultivation of satiated slaves is also beginning in the East.

Journalistic clamor is journalistic clamor, but in the meanwhile the situation remained unclear. The military dictate solved essentially nothing, at least not in the most important area: dependence on Russia. Social confusion still continued and nothing was still definitively predetermined. The anxiety of the new authorities, whose representatives unceasingly plied the routes linking Warsaw with the more important world capitals, was felt. Everything was in some way suspended, all the more so since the process of reanimated mutual contacts between Poland's neighbors was visible.

The new First Secretary, who was also the Chairman of the Council of State, came forward in mid-October with an unexpected speech in which he mentioned "the undertaking of the initiatives of the Polish October and the Prague Spring, which marked out the line of progress for world Communism." This speech was immediately seized on by the Western Communist parties, which in a joint declaration stated that "the inevitability of the historical processes in the states of the socialist camp once again has proven that the distortions of Communism which took place in those countries were a transitional stage resulting from concrete conditions."

Finally, on the anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, a singular article appeared in the columns of the Moscow PRAVDA. In an exceptionally forcible manner the contributions of Poland in the history of the revolution were emphasized, and the fact of Poland's gaining its independence as a result of the breakdown of the imperialist policy of the czars was also laid out. A commentary about current events in our country stated that "The Polish comrades have in an unequivocal manner expressed their irrevocable will to strengthen the unbreakable alliance which is the basis for our camp" and that "The Polish road to communist construction constitutes a valuable contribution to the revolutionary experience of the working masses of the entire world."

The flood of speculations and commentaries called for by these formulations seemed not to have an end. For us they meant one thing: an absolutely unequivocal promise of immediate intervention in the event of an attempt to disturb the structure of the Warsaw Pact, with a simultaneous granting of a free hand in internal matters. Well, let us put it this way: free to a certain degree.

And then a simply unexpected thing happened. The democratic opposition was confronted by the following dilemma: further pressure to achieve the maximum of freedoms or maintenance of the gains secured by the military revolt. A sharp rift appeared between the "radicals" and the "realists," and the former were forced to go underground.

CSO: 2600

## CHARACTERISTICS OF FUTURE ECONOMIC REFORM DISCUSSED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 8-9 Dec 79 pp 1, 3

[Article by Rafal Krawczyk: "About the Reform, Differently"]

[Text] Really, everything has been said before already. In the economic discussion, there have been voices [saying] that there is a need for far reaching reforms and there have been voices that any reforms would be superfluous or outright harmful. "Economic experiment" is commonplace, in the eyes of the people, a break in experimenting is something new. Let us try to sum up the many years of discussion, the years of trial and error and let us formulate, as clearly as possible, what do we mean talking about the need to introduce changes in the system of economic management in our country.

When we look closely at the economic discussion among professional economists and production managers, we may be under the impression that there is a general agreement about the basic matters. Our economy requires changes of the planning and management system which would lead to the introduction of parametric tools that would replace the ever less effective directives. Each new wave of discussion sounds just like the one before regardless whether we read the symposium entitled "Economists Discuss the Law of Value" or the one entitled "Discussion of the Polish Economic Model." It seems that the economists are trying to convince each other of things that are totally beyond dispute.

Perhaps, the common man would not pay much attention to this if it was not for the commonly known phenomenon that these discussions are revived every two or three years and, in their footsteps, the efforts to introduce the parametric system instead of the traditional directive system are revived too. So, the economists seem to know what the economy needs but the directives come back like a boomerang.

This process of spontaneous revival of the traditional directive system is beyond the comprehensive of economists and production managers. They have difficulty understanding why, when it is clear how things should be, things still are not so. Let us add that the disaster, forecast by some as the unavoidable consequence of the lack of far reaching economic reforms, somehow has not materialized.



I believe that this is so difficult to understand because some people see in the economy only the role and the tasks of the "center" and others vote for the independence of economic units. The emotions of the participants flare up and turn off the objective light of the day. The obvious and dialectic fact is forgotten that no central authority and no decision center operates in a vacuum.

Every central authority and every decision center are just little pieces of the large economic picture.

This, in my opinion, is the first cause of inadequacy of the discussion to date. The second cause is that that discussion does not appreciate enough the relationship of the proposed changes in the management system to the social and political problems.

The working hypothesis regarding the causes of failure to date of the efforts to reform the way the national economy is managed can be reduced, in my opinion, to the observation that the economists concentrating on the analysis of the causes of unsatisfactory effectiveness of the directive system, as a rule, underestimate the extra-economic power on the directive system that matters very much in the overall evaluation.

I believe that the main strength of the traditional directive system was, through the long years of its existence, the thing that used to be called "social advancement." Social mobility in all its aspects was very high in that period of time. This mobility applied not only to moving people in space but, above all, it applied to mass elevation in the social hierarchy of many individuals whose roots were in the industrial-agricultural proletariat. From the historical perspective, we will probably acknowledge this process as a great, massive, effective and, considering the conditions then prevailing, fast (and often painful) education of large masses of the society. So formulated "rationality" of the management system is subject to a different set of yardsticks than the efficiency of individual enterprises or even whole economic sectors.

Thirdly, as the history of People's Poland shows, the reasons used by the proponents of quick and radical changes in the way the national economy works are not in accord with the "historical reasons" of development understood as the real course of events including the amazing spontaneous revival of the traditional economic management system and its, now obvious, weaknesses in the field of innovation and microeconomic effectiveness. These obvious weaknesses neither prevented the traditional system's recurring spontaneous revivals nor (despite the popular belief) created a definite social resentment.

The question which we must ask ourselves in the current phase of the discussion deals with its relation to the past experience when it seemed, as it does now, that only abandoning the centrally issued directives can restore to our national economy its freshness and dynamism.

Against the background of the current reduction of the rate of economic growth stand out the difficulties of balancing the material resources with the demand for investment and the real market demand while the increases of the national income are heavily energy-intensive, transportation-intensive and raw material-intensive. Here is the paradox of the situation: these phenomena indicate a weakening, not a strengthening, of the central control over the actual process of investment, wage determination and allotment of merchandise to the market. And this is not the whole paradox. The desire to control unfavorable phenomena leads directly to central control of an ever greater number of matters which are even more difficult to handle.

Today's economic problems and the relatively great opportunities created in the 1970's permit, and even demand, that we look at many matters in a different light than before. We should ponder how to get the country ready for the difficult future rather than deliberate what the historical origins of the system were.

We cannot run away from this, I believe. If we do not make the necessary decisions, fate will make those decisions and it will make them against us. We can act rationally and effectively only on the basis of cool analysis and knowledge of the actual state of affairs.

Frederic Engels once said: "Freedom is nothing else...but the ability to decide on the basis of knowledge of facts." This is a timeless thought, it has been proven correct many times in the history of numerous nations. In addition to the intuition, deep conviction and will there must be also effective action, determination and competence, that is that "knowledge of facts."

What are the changes which according to the guidelines of the Central Committee of the PZPR at the 7th Party Congress "should be gradually introduced in the successive years so that they will be universally binding by 1983?"

The thoughts of people who deal with this problem and the socio-economic experience of the 35 year period, prompt me to state the following observations and postulates:

As I have said before, it would be unrealistic to think that system solutions in the economic sphere pertain only to that sphere. Every economic system performs an economic function but, it also performs social and political functions. In the purely economic field, the principles of each system determine the method of economic decision making and the framework and the freedom of real economic accounting which define the concept of "management efficiency." These principles determine the resource allocation system, that is the process of creation and division of the national income produced by the toil of millions. At the same time, each economic system determines the degree of actual economic democracy and even decides the structure and number of decision centers. Thus, it is not socially indifferent where the decisions are made

about the rate of economic development and its structure and about the division of the national loaf of bread. Let us not delude ourselves: where those decisions are made, of small pockets standard of living, of privileges and opportunities grow up even in a socialist society. The more centers of decision exist where automatic division of income is made, the more social dangers exist.

The gains of socialism must not be threatened because it is impossible to back out of dangerous paths, some of which we may not even know today. For this reason, the economic system must have a guaranteed right to change the rules of the game the moment the danger warnings appear.

Looking at the experience of some countries it is hard not to be under the impression that once a decision is made to change the overall social objectives, such a decision being supported by deep systematic changes, it acquires its own, hard to reverse, dynamics which stabilizes the created social layering for a long period and thus significantly limits the possibility to change the rules of the game by the political center. This is yet another noneconomic result of a decision which appeared purely economic. These experiences also must be taken under consideration while constructing the Polish economic model.

Every serious change in the operation of the economic system also changes the operation of the political organs. In a situation where a part of allocation decisions and the majority of current decisions have been automated and delegated to individual enterprises, the political intervention cannot be of a direct character but must go through a longer and indirect route, via various centers of political echelons. This fact also proves that the serious approach to the economic reform must analyze its effects in all fields and must be aware of consequences which will follow.

In the light of experience to date, it is necessary to define precisely the tasks for the future system of management of the national economy to assure that it will fulfill the social expectations and that it will be in agreement with both the principles and the reality of socialism.

First, the economic aspects:

--the motivational function of the system must be appropriately defined and must tie in with the individual's objectives with the general social objectives;

--the significance of economic reckoning must be restored by basing it on realistic parameters and this must include an increase of the role of money in the national economy;

--general economic balance must be restored both in the market sector and the investment sector;

--a mechanism adjusting the economy to the changing internal and external circumstances must be built into the system;

--the real governing and controlling functions of the economic center must be strengthened thus obviating the necessity for an overly formal centralism.

To sum up: an internally consistent and comprehensive system must be constructed which can last for a long time without major changes.

Second, the social aspect:

--the defense of economic interests of the population groups having low and average income;

--additional safeguarding of equal rights of all citizens to education, social services and individual advancement;

--making the managerial cadre fully aware that their objective is to serve the society and not any particular interests;

--assuring to all citizens the opportunity to realize their individual plans as long as they are not contrary to the social interest.

To sum up: the objective is to assure the fullest possible protection of the interests of the broad laboring masses and to make the management system synonymous with social justice.

Third, the political aspect:

--the stabilization of the basic and time proven principles of functioning of the political authority in accordance with the principles of socialist society.

To sum up: a dynamic, because changing with the changing circumstances, but stabilized capability of the party to fulfill its constitutional role of the nation's governing force must be guaranteed.

We do not have much time to introduce the necessary reforms. The experience of other socialist countries indicates that it takes at least three years from the moment of decision to fully implement system reforms. It is believed that two years are required to prepare fully and professionally the system's foundations and the next year to train the cadres who cannot suddenly encounter a new modus operandi without undergoing an appropriate cycle of training and preparation. Thus, we have practically only one year to seriously prepare the problem

Meanwhile, there is no reason to despair and to point out the mounting difficulties. Even within the current management structure there are many hidden, unused reserves; the existing structure permits their utilization

by rational and forward looking changes of priorities. Also, it should be remembered that there is no system which solves all the problems automatically, the effectiveness of any system depends on the attitude of people who operate it. People must believe that the system is sound but they must realize too that both the future system and the utilization of reserves of the current system will require greater efforts, both physical and mental, and the success, common or individual, boils down to the absolute necessity of applying the triad of concepts: will, program and competence. This explains why the etymology of the word "management" is so close to the etymology of the word "government" [in Polish].

What we do today under the current system will influence the effectiveness of the future system. The connection cannot be broken. No one will do our work for us.

8801

CSO: 2600



DECLINE OF 'REAL ECONOMIC JOURNALISM' OBSERVED, BEMOANED

Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish No 12, Dec 79 pp 1-2

[Article by Stanislaw Chelstowski]

[Text] Along with the level of generally good writing on economic themes in Poland, I personally sense a disturbing sign of a decline of real economic journalism. What do I understand by this notion? Activity of a high intellectual rank comprising a synthesis of facts, their general evaluation, and also inferences drawn from them. As early as 2 years ago, there was a relatively large amount of these materials in the press: in TRYBUNA LUDU a weekly column of economic journalism; similar in POLITYKA and other periodicals. Lately, the frequency with which this type of item appears has diminished significantly. One may still come to contact with it relatively more often in the columns of NOWE DROGI but still too infrequently overall.

This must be worrisome for, after all, a great social demand exists for high caliber journalism.

Reasons? It is a very complex matter. We all possess an awareness of the instrumental function of the press vis-a-vis politics. Meanwhile, until the moment of publication of the Guidelines for the Eighth Congress of the PZPR, there was basically no general appraisal of the situation in Poland, from the point of view of politicians, and this lack was felt by journalists as well. A second cause, in my opinion, is found more in psychological categories. We writers are somehow under a twofold pressure: as ordinary citizens we are affected by all the everyday problems and burdens and, as journalists we are confronted with the opinions of people who are often unsatisfied because it is generally these people who seek contact with an editorial staff. At the same time we are aware of the complexity of the situation, which the average resident of our country does not always try to examine. All of this added up creates in the journalist his own kind of fear in the face of a difficult subject.

And perhaps there is one other, by no means secondary, matter: the state of a journalists' information. The Resolution of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee and a similar document from the Council of Ministers

doubtless formally facilitated access to information. Practically, however, we continue to have problems acquiring synthesized, general information. Even if it exists, it demands such arduous efforts from a writer that it is simply discouraging. Not long ago, for example, I attempted to calculate an index as essential to economists as the increase in technical equipment in our entire economy in the 1970s. The data are apparently available in the Statistical Yearbook. This increase, however, is given in 1971 prices up to the year 1975, and in 1977 prices after 1975. If I wish to make reliable use of such material, I must invest an enormous amount of effort in an ultimately technical operation to obtain a comparison. Incidentally, the amount of current information has also been limited for incomprehensible reasons. It is difficult, for example, to gather data on our economy's quarterly or semi-annual situation.

All of these elements make up the state of economic journalism. I do not maintain that it is a state that deserves a negative evaluation. It is not that by any means. We have much material in the press currently that is very good, including critical material, which plays an important role in stimulating economic thinking. Its defect is that this material does not go beyond a certain generally narrow, sector of the economy. Meanwhile, that economy has become enormously complex in our time. Fragmentary materials are incapable of showing all the connections and interdependencies of its particular branches. Without taking in the whole of the situation, the journalist is often unable to oppose such provincial arguments in work establishments as: we would produce more if we obtained more funds for investment, wages, and imports of machines and raw materials. I myself often come up against situations where the heads of particular enterprises have requirements which they justify brilliantly. Except that the sum of these requirements significantly exceeds the possibility of their fulfillment.

Economic journalism has always been an important area of journalism. Currently the all-important role in all our propaganda activity has devolved upon it. Our economy, for various reasons, has not improved adequately in terms of effectiveness, which limits our appetites for the realization of general social goals. Management efficiency is the essential problem, which demands an economic approach, not only where the effect is immediately evident, meaning in production facilities or on the farm, but also where the conditions for its attainment are created, from the Planning Commission to the gmina official. We journalists must form just such a pro-efficiency attitude in society. One must incessantly ask oneself not only "How much?" but also "For how much? At what cost?" This is a question we have often failed to ask ourselves in past years.

This may sound incredible, but it has happened to me more than once that a factory director, having been asked by me about the costs of his enterprise, was completely taken aback. He did not know because it was not necessary for him to know! This tells us something.

The conviction is becoming universal in our environment that people have somehow become indifferent to public affairs; in connection with this, the journalist also feels the uselessness of his actions. This is not so. The

point is simply to get through to the reader with matters that concern, pain, and irritate him. In ZCIE GOSPODARCZE we organized a discussion entitled "For what, how much, and how to pay for it?" with the participation of professors and great managers. Suprisingly we obtained a large response from workers. The matter was transformed into the "Fair Wages" campaign. We printed statements sent in by over 20 foremen and workers. The respondents were not even concerned with more pay, simply with payment in a different way, one that was more fair by their understanding. We were invited to three work establishments for discussions in departments. And so, there are matters that "touch" people, and they cannot be ignored even (and perhaps, especially?) when we foresee controversial opinions that are highly colored by subjectivism.

9309

CS0: 2600

# NEED FOR RELATIONS WITH ALL SOCIALIST STATES

Bucharest SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in Romanian 12 Dec 79 p 4

[Article by Ioan Timofte]

[Text] The 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party--an event of historical importance along the road of outlining the radiant future of our country, of the Romanian people--also was an outstanding landmark in orienting and formulating the guidelines of all our party and state foreign policy. In the most natural manner, in the spirit of the Romanian Communist Party Program for building a multilaterally developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism, the documents of the recent congress, whose proceedings had a broad international attendance, reaffirmed the resolve of our party, of socialist Romania, to take principled and constructive action for the continuous and multilateral expansion of friendship, cooperation and solidarity with all socialist states.

This was one of the essential assignments given to the party by the previous congress and it was masterly completed. The period between the two congresses bore out the constant concern of our party and state for strengthening and expanding relations with all the socialist states. In the concept of the Romanian Communist Party, of party secretary general Nicolae Ceausescu, option does not have a situational character and is not tied to any kind of strings. Conversely, our party assesses that objective conditions exist to that effect, of promoting closer and closer relations, conditions which lastingly stem from the community in terms of systems, ideology and common goals of building communism. We strongly feel that unity and cooperation among all the socialist countries are legal requirements, major factors for ensuring success in building the new society in each socialist country and, at the same time, for expanding these states' input into the overall struggle for socialism, peace, independence and progress, for the achievement of all mankind's vital goals to live in a better and more equitable world.

Nicolae Ceausescu has always campaigned for friendship, solidarity and cooperation among all socialist states and his prodigious activity has been a convincing and firm effort which focuses on the basic interests of all the

peoples that are building their new society. Some concrete examples make the point in terms of the dynamics and ever broader sphere of our party's, our country's relations with the states that are building the new society. For instance, during the period between 1 January 1975 and 1 October 1979, Nicolae Ceausescu had 61 meetings with party and state leaders from socialist countries in Bucharest, during visits or international events. Moreover, the party secretary general had many talks when he received in Bucharest heads of government, vice-premiers and foreign ministers, parliamentary delegations, mass and civic delegations, and public personalities from socialist countries. Top-level documents signed include 11 bilateral statements, two friendship treaties and 18 joint communiques. This period saw the signing of about 50 intergovernment treaties of cooperation and economic and technical collaboration. During the period under review, Romania's foreign trade with socialist countries went up 70 percent and by the end of 1980 the volume of these relations will be double that for the prior five-year plan. On the basis of the principles of equality and mutual assistance, for the purpose of the progress of each national economy, Romania now is a signatory to more than 50 multilateral conventions for specialization and cooperation in production within CEMA framework. Furthermore, as stated at the Congress, this country will further work to expand bilateral and multilateral cooperation with all the socialist countries for the benefit and prosperity of the peoples that are building the new society. The new forms of cooperation have expanded and technical, scientific, cultural, tourist, and other exchanges have broadened.

Working in the spirit of our party and state policy, the Union of Communist Youth and the Union of Communist Student Associations of Romania develop broad relations of friendship and cooperation with youth and student organizations in all socialist countries and constantly diversify the forms of cooperation. Friendly meetings, exchanges of delegations, visits, consultations, seminars, and exchanges of experience and opinions--on the greatest variety of matters which exercise the minds of young people in our countries--have become customary events and are part of the specific input of the young generation in each socialist country into better mutual knowledge and broader friendship and cooperation with the other socialist countries.

Romania consistently bases its relations with all socialist countries on the principles of national independence and sovereignty, full equality, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual advantage and comradely reciprocal assistance. As practice and realities fully prove, the decisive factors in the assertion of these principles involve the relations established between the Romanian Communist Party and the communist and workers' parties in the other socialist countries, the fruitful talks of Nicolae Ceausescu with leaders of these parties, which each time helped to expand Romania's multilateral cooperation with all the socialist countries.

The report given at the 12 Congress pointed out that our party, Romania have always firmly focused their efforts on continuously expanding their relations with all socialist countries, campaigning for settling differences and for



expanding their solidarity. Taking into consideration the existence of different views as a result of the former imperialist policy conducted prior to beginning the transition to the new system or of specific historical conditions, the Romanian Communist Party, our state firmly speak out for settling these situations, for achieving the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries "on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism, of equality and mutual respect, noninterference in domestic affairs and mutually advantageous cooperation," as Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out.

According to its principled position, our party reiterated the imperative need for making every effort to settle the differences which appear by means of direct negotiations between the countries involved.

As pointed out in the documents of the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, of outstanding importance would be all socialist countries' taking the pledge of not undertaking any action that might worsen the relations among these countries, solemnly stating that they would not resort, for any reason and in any form, to military actions, to interference in the domestic affairs of other states. This demand objectively stems from the fact that the interests of each socialist country, of the socialist forces by and large, require responsible action, in an overall context of mutual esteem and respect, for the creation of a climate favorable to the mobilization of all resources in building the new society. It is an assertion which is based on awareness of the supreme duty which each party assumed before its own people to provide them with an ever more prosperous and peaceful future. The conscious concretization of the new relations among socialist states--an expression of the profound humanism which any socialist state promotes in every circumstance--is all the more necessary in the current complex situation in the modern world when our countries are called upon to practically demonstrate the superiority of the socialist system, to resolve all disputes by means of negotiations only, doing away with resort to force or threat with the use of force. Undoubtedly, in the current international context, with contradictory developments, such actions with a broad and profound significance for the world's future would have an outstanding political importance, would implicitly result in the enhanced prestige of socialist countries all over the world and in the greater impact of the ideas of socialism.

As far as the Romanian Communist Party is concerned, it will further firmly champion--in the spirit of the party program--the active expansion of cooperation with all the socialist states and primarily with the neighboring socialist countries, for the settlement of differences and strengthening of their cooperation, solidarity, and unity. Nicolae Ceausescu stated: "I wish to assure the party and all the people, from the high forum of the 12th Congress, that we shall do our utmost to implement the policy of cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries and communist parties. Moreover, I assure all the fraternal socialist countries and communist parties that we shall consistently campaign for the unity of the parties and socialist states, for the progress and prosperity of all peoples who are building the new society, for the overall cause of socialism, detente, and peace in the world."

11710

CSO: 2700

PROBLEMS IN ATHEISTIC EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS CITED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 1, 5 Jan 80 pp 18-21

[Article by Prof Toma Mares: "Problems in the Scientific-Atheistic Education of School Youth"]

[Text] "It is an anachronism in the era of great achievements in the scientific-technical revolution, the revolution of knowledge, when the people are affirmed as the conscious creators of all material and spiritual values, that there should exist people, and even party members, who still believe in supernatural forces. Political-educational activity must lead to the formation of the new man, a man with a broad horizon of knowledge of the laws of development of the world and the achievements of modern science and culture, a man who is an active militant for revolutionary transformation of the world and for the noble ideals of communism." -- Nicolae Ceausescu, "Report to the Twelfth Congress of the RCP"

The requirements for quality and efficiency in the social-economic stage which is preceded by the Twelfth Congress of the party are also valid in respect to increasing efforts for improvement in the activities of all officials who are involved in the multilateral education and instruction of the younger generation. In this direction, the school has a decisive role since it is called on to orient its efforts -- through a more sustained contact with life and a more lasting linkage with production and scientific research -- toward the formation of the new man on the basis of the most advanced achievements of knowledge and within the spirit of the dialectical-materialist concept of nature and society.

The scientific-atheistic education of youth and the combatting of any kind of mystic-religious manifestations or influences which are foreign to the ideology of scientific socialism occupy an important place in the ensemble of these efforts. In the report to the Twelfth Congress, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized that "Forming a scientific concept about matter, the universe and the society of communists and the broad mass of workers is a task of prime importance. The persistence of some mystic, regressive concepts in the thought of some people impedes their full affirmation in the life of society."

In order to realize this goal under the best possible conditions, in addition to the propaganda activity carried on by all political-educational means, the schools and also the pioneer and youth organizations face obligations of prime significance. The program of measures approved by the party leadership in February 1979 in respect to intensification of communist educational activities through and for the work of pioneers and students brought about a stimulation of efforts for organization of some more efficient forms of scientific-cultural activities for the purpose of political-ideological education. As a result of the application of the provisions of this program, there has been a significant increase in the number of scientific, applied technology and cultural-artistic circles and most of the students are now included in their educational activities. In many localities, clubs called "The Friends of Scientific Truth" have been set up; within these clubs they have organized symposiums, afternoon performances and scientific conferences have been organized within which they have shown slides and documentary films, given practical demonstrations, carried on discussions on various topics, and so forth. In the counties of Constanta, Prahova, Ilfov, Arges, Iasi, Brasov and other areas, the program of these clubs and circles is conducted not only in the schools, but also in the cultural clubs or the workers clubs, with the participation of the parents.

Additionally, the press and the scientific broadcasts of the radio and television for children and youth as well as the documentary films produced by our movie industry and even by the pioneer movie clubs for use in the preparation and execution of political-educational activities in school now offer relatively extensive possibilities for scientific education and information. The interest and enthusiasm of students for the various fields of science and technology have been stimulated through an expansion of the place held by scientific literature in the plan of the "Ion Creanga" Publishing House, and also other publishing houses, with new and sometimes very successful collections such as "ABC," "Alpha," "Plants," "100...", and "Encyclopedias." There are, of course, also other means of action which, directly or indirectly and to a greater or lesser extent, can be added to the educational forms and methods which I have mentioned.

We thus own a broad range of possibilities for influencing and causing the formation of the dialectical-materialist concept of the world and society among the younger generation and for combatting mystic-religious manifestations and regressive influences on the formation of personalities. However, we need to ask whether this extensive ideological arsenal is used with suitable effectiveness in terms of the requirements of the era in which we live.

In accordance with the findings made as a result of investigations initiated by various educational officials, there is a persistence and even a proliferation of certain manifestations and practices of religious cults and sects in some counties (especially in Bistrita-Nasaud, Harghita, Botosani,

Ialomita and Neamt). Within the sphere of the schools, this leads to the unjustified absences of some pupils from the courses and the activities organized for the children and the youth, as well as from cultural-educational manifestations; these pupils who are absent are attracted, on the other hand, by various means to participate in the ceremonies and rituals of the different cults or sects. It is understood that such a situation hurts the training of the students in question, and when the number of such students is very large the overall activity of the schools is prejudiced from the standpoint of its instructional-educational effectiveness.

It is natural that such negative phenomena be studied more carefully for the purpose of localizing and eliminating the causes which generate the aspects and attitudes of this type, a type which is incompatible with the social, economic and cultural stage of development of the nation.

#### How Are Teachers Trained for Scientific-Atheistic Educational Activity?

The pedagogical secondary schools, the universities, and the various forms of political, pedagogical and professional improvement provide teachers with an overall training that is satisfactory. Nevertheless, while there are no special problems in respect to the teaching of the various study courses, the same thing cannot be said about the activity of the teaching personnel who are supposed to counteract the negative phenomena previously mentioned. In my opinion, the cause of such a situation is the still unsatisfactory practice-methodology training provided by educational institutions of a pedagogical nature.

In spite of the fact that each professor or teacher is required during class time and outside of class to carry on scientific-atheistic educational activity and to counteract mystic-religious beliefs and manifestations, they are trained in this respect. Not only do they not know how to act, they do not have any basic understandings of religious doctrines, nor do they know their methods of manifestation or their areas of influence and impact. Good examples of this can be seen in the answers received to questionnaires prepared by the department of philosophy of the University of Craiova and distributed in 1978 among educational officials in Dolj County (professors, teachers, educators, club directors, librarians, and so forth).

It is true that in the pedagogical secondary schools and in some universities which train teachers they have started to organize atheism circles and meetings with scientists and party and state activists to discuss the problems of scientific-atheistic education from the theoretical point of view. It is easy to understand that such training -- with a more informative character and with optional participation, especially in higher education -- cannot provide the teacher of the future with a thorough understanding of religious phenomena and even less equip him with a methodology of practical activity for combatting this, a methodology which can be adapted to local conditions and to various age categories.



Added to this is the finding that some educators still do not have a clear understanding of the concept of freedom of conscience. They consider this freedom as simply a right of a cult to hold meetings and not also as a necessity for intensification of political-educational activities for formation of a progressive, scientific-materialist concept, a necessity for raising civic consciousness and for combatting all forms of manifestation of a regressive, antiscientific spirit. Such deficiencies in the training of teachers -- who are put into a position where they can actively and efficiently combat the secular traditions of religious beliefs, beliefs which are sustained and propagated by representatives of the cults with professional routinism -- have an unfavorable impact on the educational work carried on with the students.

Many times, the failure to understand the overall functions of atheistic propaganda causes such propaganda to be limited to the activity of popularizing science carried on in the disciplines with ideological implications (history, physics, chemistry, biology), without working to systematize scientific information from the perspective of scientific atheism. Atheism is thus reduced to its explicative dimension, to the detriment of its combative-critical aspects. This is not accidental, since in the concept of some teachers and professors the belief persists that in combatting theism among school-age children it is sufficient to provide them with a scientific understanding of phenomena and then to develop a combative attitude toward the propaganda of the cults in the higher class levels when the pupils have a higher degree of consciousness.

Such an underestimation and poor understanding of the level of intelligence and the capabilities for learning of the present generation seems to me to be inadequate. By avoiding direct discussion with the students of some of the problems of religion, such a "paternalistic" conception used for the alleged purpose of protecting the moral naivete of the children in the lower classes actually results in a continuation and uninterrupted intensification of the influence exercised on them, in one way or another, by religious cults or sects.

We have a rich treasury of fairy tales and folk stories. These have a strong moral character dedicated to the victory of good over evil, thus providing an important educational function. It would be good for these stories and tales to be used as much as possible in the activity of the educators and teachers. The thing that is neglected, however, is emphasis on the fact that the basis of these tales and legends dealing with fantasy personages, and sometimes even personages with a religious flavor, is the spirit of observation of the people and their realism and often genius for scientific-technical anticipation. This is very seldom brought out in books or in the press for children. This emphasis could be of use to teachers in the lower classes, who many times do not succeed in properly utilizing the myth content of folk stories for the purpose of providing a scientific-atheistic education.



A truth which must be recognized is that there are very few teachers who organize scientific-atheistic educational work in the classes and, in particular, in extrascholastic activity -- within the framework of the youth and children's organizations -- on the basis of concrete study of religiosity in the area, the forms of manifestation of the cults and sects, the methods used by these cults and sects to attract new proselytes, and so forth, in order in this manner to determine the most efficient political-educational actions and the most suitable pedagogical strategies. Instead, brutal, administrative forms are sometimes used to "liquidate" religious manifestations and behavior on the part of some pupils -- reprimanding them in front of the class or the youth organization, lowering their behavior marks, and so on. With rare exceptions, the forms of scientific-atheistic education used by teachers are stereotypical and boring (reports, studies) and do not succeed in attracting all of the students in preparation for and execution and adaptation of these activities in accordance with the specific religious aspects encountered in life in such a way that they form their own conviction and attitudes, becoming in turn propagators of the scientific and antireligious conception.

As a consequence of such a state of affairs, scientific-atheistic education in the schools is carried on without continuity, in spurts, and there is no grading of scientific information in relation to the age peculiarities and with the educational program. The programs organized often have an abstract character and reflect the presentation and discussion of such key aspects as: Why is religion an opium for the conscience? Do you have a real existence? Do fate, destiny and divine reward and punishment exist? What is behind the concept of sin used by the religious cults? What do certain religious rites represent? and so forth, all of which are the subject of the sermons and activities of the religious cults and sects. For school activities on such topics, there is sufficient material available for interpretation of religious phenomena; however, this material is not known. It is not known not only because of the lack of interest on the part of teachers or professors, but also because of the non-existence of selective bibliographies which are made available to all educators (I want this to be kept in mind also by the publishing houses, who have the obligation of republishing some of the reference books long out of print).

#### Work with Young People Outside School Hours

Hundreds of thousands of students and pupils presently participate in a wide variety of activities which make it possible for them to understand the image of contemporary Romania, the past struggle of our people and their inexhaustible cultural-artistic heritage, to value work, and to use their energy and talents to become valuable citizens of the nation. In addition to the extensive manifestations organized within the framework of the Song of Romania National Festival and the Daciade and the broad patriotic work actions (beautification of locales, crop harvesting, gathering of medicinal plants, and so forth), there are also the activities carried on in the pioneer homes and in the youth clubs, activities which contribute

not only to stimulation and development of interests and attitudes, but also to organization of the free time of school-age youth in the most instructive and pleasant possible manner. All of this confers a new dimension to the ensemble of extrascholastic activities.

In spite of the extensive number of such activities, in light of the goals and directives established by the Twelfth Congress of the party concerning improvement of political-ideological activities and a movement toward a new quality in all fields we will have to give the most careful possible attention to the possibilities for increasingly better utilization of the free time of students.

Based on the figures and percentages presented in different situations and schedules, it can be seen that the participation of school-age youth in the various activities initiated during their free time is generally good. However, practice and findings in the field show that usually only 60-70 percent of the students are present in such activities, with the same percentage attendance holding true also for cultural-artistic activities, as well as for sport, scientific, technical and other activities.

What is the explanation for the remaining 30-40 percent, that is, the students who are not seen at such activities and who escape the attention of the educators? Some of them fritter away their still unshown and unused aptitudes in various minor actions, actions which do nothing to help them develop possible talents or interests. Others, aided by the efforts of their families, collaborate with the schools and the youth organizations for realization of a unity of thought and action in their overall activities. Adoption by the younger generation of a scientific conception of nature and society and the formation of this generation in a dialectical-materialist spirit are not the exclusive problems of the schools and the youth organizations, but rather represent a common field for collaboration between educators and parents. The forms of collaboration (citizens' committees of parents, consultation hours, lectures, and so forth) have been established by the law on education and teaching, thus providing a unitary system for providing a communist education and for execution of the educational-instructional process.

The experience acquired throughout the school years and in the youth organizations has brought about a radical change in the outlook of educators toward the family and the need for the family to work with the school as harmoniously as possible so as to be involved with the school in its educational-instructional problems. An increasingly greater number of parents are showing increased interest in the pedagogical problems discussed during the lectures and on the occasion of individual conversations; they are participating also in the preparations for cultural, artistic and sport manifestations, and are even acting as leaders in some scientific-technical or artistic-literary circles.

In contrast to the successes achieved in collaboration between school and family, there still exist deficiencies which, in my opinion, are caused either by a lack of tact and experience on the part of some teachers or by the passive attitude shown by some families relative to the major objectives of the schools. Consideration must be given to the fact that the students are under the direct influence of the schools for only 4-6 hours per day. For the rest of the time, they are subjected to the modelling activities of the family. Indeed, during the first few years of school the family is, one might say, almost totally linked to the school. How do we explain then that as the students move on to the higher grades the school more or less loses the collaboration of some families?

In some cases, the parents avoid having any further contact with the school because of the lack of tact of some teachers, who blame the parents for poor results and bad behavior in the education of their children and sometimes even admonish them in meetings with the other parents, without seeking the explanation of the causes, without offering corrective solutions. Owing to insufficient perseverance and force of conviction on the part of some teachers, there are also situations in which parents with religious beliefs refuse to participate in school activities, thus being motivated to do such with the cults or sects to which they belong. In general, the teacher collectives know who the parents are who do not participate in school life, but they do not always analyze the causes of the reluctance of such parents and they do not always take appropriate action to counteract the influence of some of their older friends who do not in all cases attract them toward positive interests. Finally, the students whose parents participate in the life of the religious cults and sects are also attracted by their example toward the activities carried on by these religious cults and sects and in time show more and more interest and attachment relative to what is offered to them by the church in comparison with the school, which has neglected them and failed to discover their interests in time.

The sometimes insufficient consultation with school-age youth when the activity programs are being established and then the mandatory attendance required at some monotonous and boring activities result in the separation of the youth from the sphere of influence of free time that could be usefully and intelligently utilized. Overly concerned with the general aspect of the manifestations which are organized during free time, some teachers forget that for proper utilization of free time it is necessary to have not only an opinion poll of the collective, but also an understanding of the interests, preferences, aptitudes and talents of each component of the collective. This leads in some cases to selection of activity programs which are miserable in content and not suited to the age group, to selection of activities which do not attract students in relation to their possibilities and desires. Stereotypical and monotonous repetition of the same activities from year to year, when students quite naturally are looking for something new and interesting, has the same negative effect.

The cause of such deficiencies in the more efficient use and organization of the free time of students so as to provide them with an overall education, including a scientific-atheistic education, is rooted not only in the deficiencies which exist in the training of teachers for such activities, but also in the limited pedagogical imagination shown by the teachers and their limited effort in using professional competence and enthusiasm to compensate for possible inadequacies in the material base, inadequacies which are very often used as an excuse for inactivity.

In light of these deficiencies, I believe that the organs responsible for guidance and control (the heads of the schools, the school inspectorates, and the councils of the children's and youth organizations) should be able to do more in increasing the effectiveness of utilization of free time by all students by digging deeper into the causes of some of the deficiencies in the activity of the educators and by collaborating with them in establishing the most suitable measures to increase the quality of educational work.

#### The School-Family Relationships

One aspect of the revolutionary transformations which strongly influence the education of the students is the new relationship of these phenomena. Sometimes, after several unsuccessful attempts, some teachers -- not showing sufficient patience and perseverance -- give up the "struggle," being satisfied with the existing situation, particularly when the students in question do not cause any problems in education and discipline. Such a renunciation, sometimes done with relative ease, on the part of the educators creates real problems for the students who are forced by their parents to think something different than they are taught at school and to disassociate themselves from the interests and activities of their other colleagues.

In my opinion, not only in the localities with marked religious activity but even on the general plane little attention is given to the means and forms of providing a scientific-atheistic education for the family so as to ensure a common front with the school. There are very few lectures for parents which include discussions on subjects relative to providing a scientific-atheistic education nor are there any discussions with people who have knowledge of specific local conditions and who also hold high positions. Usually, parents with religious convictions or who belong to cults or sects are not invited to participate in the cultural-artistic, scientific or other activities initiated by the school and by the youth organizations, even though in their case these forms of activity could play an important role in convincing them -- as has been proven in some cases.

I believe that when dealing with such parents it would be especially useful to organize -- with appropriate discretion, tact and skill -- individual discussions about the danger of their children growing up under the



constant dilemma of having to choose between the scientific-atheistic education they receive in the school and its diametrical opposite -- a religious education, the negation of science and the values of culture and work, the values of submissiveness and humility. They must be made to understand that because of their attitude of intolerance and exclusivity toward their own children, those children could become estranged from them or could become alienated from the fundamental goals and objectives of progress in the society in which they live and to which they belong.

Some of the aspects presented in this article were discussed during the December 1979 plenary of the National Council of the Organization of Pioneers. Proceeding from the goals established by the Twelfth Party Congress, this plenary examined and approved the long-range plan of this organization for political-educational activities. The measures established on this occasion in reference to intensification of political-educational work have been supplemented by the similar objectives and actions also established by the other educational officials for the purpose of realizing a common front for formation of a man with a political consciousness and a scientific background which meet the needs imposed by the development of our society during the next decade, a decade of science, technology, quality and efficiency.

6010

CSO: 2700



ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION ON NEED FOR DISARMAMENT

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 1, 5 Jan 80 pp 22-26

[Article by Ion Dăcu and Sergiu Verona, Stefan Gheorghiu Academy: "The Present Imperatives of Disarmament"]

[Text] Organized between 3 and 5 December 1979 in Bucharest by the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy, together with the Romanian National Commission for UNESCO and the Association for International Law and International Relations, the round table on the topic "The Imperatives of Disarmament Under Existing Conditions. The Role of UNESCO in Forming a Public Opinion Favorable to Stopping the Arms Race and Changing Over to Disarmament" benefited from the active participation of some prestigious national and international organizations and institutions and famous experts, researchers and specialists, thus achieving status as one of the actions of international repute in this vital field of interest to all peoples of the world.

Emphasis must especially be given to the participation in the round table by international organizations in the United Nations system through the representative of the director general of UNESCO and the representative of the UN Center for Disarmament in New York, such internationally known institutions as the SIPRI (Institute for Research on Peace in Stockholm), the Institute for Research on Peace in Oslo, the Institute of Strategic Studies in London, the Institute for Problems of Peace in Tampere, as well as -- together with Romanian specialists -- professors and scientists from universities, study centers and research institutes in England, Bulgaria, Finland, France, India, Norway, the USA, Sweden, the USSR and Hungary.

The participation at a high and broadly representative level from the point of view of diversity of positions, conceptions and schools of thought, the high scientific level of the discussions, the working atmosphere, the mutual interest and respect for the opinions expressed, the authentic dialogue achieved through scientific data and arguments -- all these contributed to transformation of the round table in Bucharest into a rich and fertile source of investigations, a source of new approaches and fresh ideas, a source of inspiration for courage and optimism in

respect to the chances for success in the struggle to put a stop to the mad arms race and to achieve a new strategy for disarmament and the initiation of a real process of disarmament.

The round table in Bucharest took place under especially complex and contradictory international conditions and at a particular point in time at which increasingly greater criticality had become attached to the imperative of forming a well-informed and active public opinion capable of acting with greater intensity in the direction of setting a new course in international life and favorable to stopping the arms race and strating disarmament. Following shortly on the heels of an event of historical importance in the life of our people -- the Twelfth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party -- this international action constituted an excellent occasion for affirmation of the valuable theses and concepts formulated by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in the report presented to the party congress.

As pointed out in the address given to the round table by comrade Leonte Rautu, chairman of the management council and rector of the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy, the appeals addressed to the party congress and to all the peoples and states of the world by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu became a veritable working motto of the round table in Bucharest, with these appeals a broad and profound echo among the participants. "The primordial task of our era," said the secretary heneral of our party in the report presented to the congress, "is immediate cessation of the arms race! Responsibility in respect to their own peoples and in respect to peace and the existence of all humanity requires the heads of states, the governments, realistic political forces everywhere and world public opinion to act with complete decisiveness in this direction! All countries, all peoples must say a decisive NO to the arms race and must do everything possible to start reducing military expenditures and to start disarmament."

#### Evaluation of the Process of the Arms Race

The discussion began with examination of the new elements which had appeared in the arms race and the implications of continuing this arms race under the conditions of accelerated development of the scientific and technical revolution on the military plane.

As is known, specialized literature abounds in studies written from different points of view and dealing with the most detailed possible evaluation of this phenomenon of such great danger -- the arms race -- for the overall relationships among states. Moreover, more recently, study of the evolutions which have taken place in the arms race (nuclear and/or conventional) has had to be linked with investigation of processes such as technological progress on the military plane or the continued modification (or adaptation) of present strategic doctrines. Of course, although one can agree or disagree with such approach or with the data and statistics published in various studies, no one can fail to recognize today the extremely grave situation created by the arms race, especially the nuclear

arms race, in terms of international life, as well as the fact that in one way a new threshold has been reached in development of destructive weapons and the premises created for a new technological leap which will have consequences which are difficult to evaluate at this time.

This is the reason why the reports and actions of the foreign and Romanian participants in the round table reflected such an extensive interest in respect to the phenomenon of the arms race, the new elements which have appeared in the field of contemporary military technology, contemporary strategic doctrines and their role in stimulating the arms race, the so-called "global militarization" phenomena (to use the expression cited by professor Frank Barnaby, director of the SIPRI in Stockholm) which are being felt in relationships among states and which tend to subordinate these states to power concepts.

Discussion of this problem area was by no means limited to a presentation of new data and figures, but rather an attempt to characterize the essence of the process, avoiding a simplistic treatment and doing everything possible to achieve a true explanation of the phenomenon.

Some participants were struck by the fact that the arms race process is so stimulated and sustained by the policies of some states, especially the major powers, that the arms race tends to become (and to a certain extent has become) an independent process with its own laws and with a special influence on contemporary political, economic and technological life. In this respect the results of studies made by some Norwegian specialists were made known which concluded that at this time "the machine of war, as well as the dynamic of the arms race, has achieved a truly autonomous momentum of a Frankensteinian nature which acts against any possible rational political limitations," with this phenomenon being evaluated as being considerably different from the situation which existed in the past. Additionally, the tendency for the arms race to become autonomous can lead to a complete removal of this race from the incidence of political strategy. According to these views, the arms race is backed by strong motor forces of a structural and social-political nature. The traditional stimulants of the arms race such as "the perception of a threat" and "the dynamics of action-reaction-overreaction" were reinforced by the changeover from a quantitative race to a qualitative race. Thus what is usually called a defensive action is often transformed into a permanent preparation for war.

This type of thinking -- which is also common to the other reports presented within the round table -- actually expresses the indissoluble link existing between the arms race and its doctrinal substratum. One of the reports presented by the Romanian participants (that of General-Major Dr Cornel Soare of the Military Academy in Bucharest) dealt especially with the strategy of "nuclear discouragement," with its political, technological and military coordinates, in an attempt to define exactly the evil effects caused by some strategic doctrines in effect as justification and stimulus for the arms race -- nuclear and conventional. The arguments made -- which

are supported by numerous attributes of these doctrines -- bring out the fact that this strategy stimulates the arms race and is a serious obstacle in the path of achievement of disarmament and establishment of a climate of peace and international security. The unstable character of strategic relations based on the theory of "discouragement" is generated by the essential fact that we are confronted with a strategy which is constructed on predominantly technological coordinates or, as the author refers to it, a "strategy of means," which exercises a profoundly harmful influence by virtue of the fact that it attributes to the techniques of armament a predominant role in the mechanism of international politics. As we know -- and especially as the facts as such have demonstrated -- such a view has constituted the material support for the growth and even the escalation of destructive force levels. It is a true "birth certificate" for the tremendous arsenals of armaments which exist today in the world and which continue to expand.

The discussions held on this topic brought out the fact that for many specialists the strategic theories in effect served to justify the political and military alliances, investments and programs, and solutions and doctrines. In this context, Soviet researcher V.V. Potasov of the Institute for Problems of the USA and Canada felt -- using the example of the USA -- that actually "the entire history of the nuclear rocket arms race of this country provides evidence of the fact that they were developed on the basis of a long-term and independent plan."

The dialogue carried on in respect to the present evolutions in the field of the arms race was not something which could be called a simple dialogue on the findings, a concretization of a resignation in the face of situations which could not be changed. Many of the participants approached this problem by proceeding from the necessity for overcoming the present impasse and in this respect formulating concrete proposals. A good example of this is the discussions held on the problem of military budgets, which are an important indicator for measuring the levels of the arms race. Involved in a number of fields dependent on the arms race and at the same time exercising a powerful influence on the economic development of states, the problem of military budgets brings out the disquieting fact -- emphasized during the discussions -- that in some countries, parallel with a reduction in the rate of productive investments and funds for the development of agriculture, there has been a high rate of increase in military expenditures, with the percentage of such expenditures greatly surpassing the increases in the national income. In a period without major hostilities -- as the Romanian expert Gheorghe Tinca (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) pointed out -- military budgets increased from 200 billion dollars in 1970 to 425 billion dollars in 1979. The data presented brought out the unusual proportion of a limited number of states in the ensemble of world military expenditures, a proportion which determines the nature and course of the arms race competition, with 80 percent being spent by the two military blocks in Europe. But what do these figures mean? This question is even more critical in light of the theories known according to which the military



budgets represent expenditures which in the final analysis are "productive" and "stimulants" for overall economic activity. Stated in other terms, they have their own place and "logic" and must be accepted as a "normal" and "natural" element of the world landscape.

The discussions reflected a different viewpoint in this respect and pertinent arguments were presented according to which, in addition to constantly adding to the enormous potential for destruction of human civilization, military expenditures represent an immediate load which is difficult to support for the economy of each country and for all peoples of the world. Even if the immense arsenals of armaments, and in particular the nuclear armaments, are not used, the expenditures for their production and acquisition contribute to inflation, and delay the economic and social development of the states, as well as divert for unproductive purposes tremendous material, technical and human resources which are urgently needed for the development of all nations, especially the developing nations.

Gigantic stocks of armaments with continually increasing destructive capabilities, increasingly greater military expenditures, and unlimited competition in the name of interests which are completely alien to the peoples of our planet -- this was the picture which came into focus from the effort of the collective of specialists discussing the problem of the arms race in the light of today. This is why the analyses made predominantly reflected the idea of the extremely dangerous character of these self-annihilating activities in which we are presently assisting. And this why this picture was included in what some specialists called "the global o game." The arms race was always -- and also continues to be at this time -- an instrument of power, of political force, mutually stimulating itself and self-perpetuating itself. "For this reason," said Prof Dr Silviu Brucan, "the nuclear arms race continues in spite of the fact that the present arsenals are sufficient to destroy the entire world and all of its inhabitants many times over. The nuclear logic which stimulates this arms race is the most aberrant product of power politics."

#### The Military Problems of Europe

Discussion of European military problems was not due to its presence in the program as a result of the initiative of the organizers of the round table, but rather the general interest which this subject enjoys at this time. This is not just because we are entering into the period already being referred to as the "Madrid Year" -- the year of the future reunion for security and cooperation in Europe -- but also, to an equal extent, because of the new evolutions on the military plane in the European scene, evolutions which legitimately awaken a sentiment of profound concern.

One of the first reports in this field was given by the American specialist professor J.J.Coffey, director of the Center for Study of International Security in the University of Pittsburgh. The author of some well-known studies on the evolution of the military situation in Europe, as well as on



negotiations for armaments and troop reductions in Europe, the American professor presented a sketch of the military balance in Europe at this time. The tables distributed by him to the other participants in the round table do not allow discussion of the dynamics behind military stockpiling in Europe, but do help to form an overall picture of the present stockpiling of weapons and armaments -- nuclear and conventional. The figures refer to NATO and the Warsaw Pact forces.

	<u>Northern and Central Europe</u>	<u>Southern Europe</u>
Divisions (total armored, mechanized and infantry)	78	69
Combat tanks	23,768	9,782
Tactical aircraft	5,430	2,233

Added to this first evaluation -- from which it can be seen that "the present situation" in northern, central and southern Europe has as its parameters about 150 divisions of all types, 33,550 tanks, and 7,663 combat aircraft -- is what the American specialist calculated as being "the capacity of the two blocks to mobilize supplementary forces." But it is likely that the most eloquent statistics are those in which the author calculates the quantity of nuclear munitions stockpiled and destined for the European "theater of operations." It can be seen from his calculations that the megatonnage of nuclear bombs included in this category is 2,161 megatons. Let me translate this figure. It means approximately 144,066 bombs of the Hiroshima type, stockpiled and destined -- by virtue of the strategic doctrines in effect -- for the European continent.

On the one hand, the present military situation in Europe is the result of a process of permanent stockpiling, and on the other hand, a point in time within a transitional process toward increasingly higher levels of destructive capability. And this is because during the years which have passed by, in spite of some negotiations for reduction of the levels of military stockpiling, no practical, effective steps in this direction have been taken. This is a matter of well-known facts. Many participants in the round table adopted a critical attitude toward the European landscape oversaturated with armaments.

The general framework of the discussion in connection with the present and the possible future of Europe included (as a true leitmotif) the well-known problem of "military balance." As is known, although invoked as a needed condition for assuring the equal security of states, it has been -- at least up to the present -- used as an instrument for increasing military arsenals. In the discussions by the Romanian representatives, as well as by other participants, the fact was brought out that the subjectivism of

the notion of balance had pushed Europe into an unprecedented competition in the field of armaments. The data published in specialized studies and also the argumentation concerning the "asymmetries" which would exist between parties on the military plane actually provided a continued increase in the levels of destructive forces. Decisions to "adjust" or "compensate for" the balance, when considered unfavorable to one of the parties, were used constantly, thus in reality leading to a qualitative race which was unprecedented and without visible end. The impression is often created that each military block justifies its own military decisions (budget increases, options in the selection of some types of weapons, and so forth) through the acts of the other party, which can only lead to an increase in the existing armaments ceilings. Pointing out the rational character of the existence of a military balance in Europe, as well as on the general plane, a balance which does not endanger the security of any one party, the reports and discussions of the Romanian representatives presented our country's concept concerning the necessity and possibility of realizing this balance not through the emplacement of new troops and weapons, not through intensification of the nuclear arms race, but rather through reductions in armed forces, through disarmament.

In referring to the position of the Soviet Union in respect to the problem of military balance, Prof Dr Alexander Nikonov (of the Institute for World Economy and International Relations in the Academy of Sciences of the USSR) brought out the fact that the equal security of the parties must not be looked at as a static concept, since it actually represents a dynamic balance. From this point of view, in the view of the USSR -- he said -- it is necessary to reduce balance, to assure stability in strategic terms, and, consequently, to reduce arms level in time.

Therefore, evaluated from this standpoint, the recent plans of NATO to place medium range rockets in Western Europe (the so-called plan for "modernization" of nuclear capabilities) threatens to create an imbalance in the strategic situation in Europe, raising new obstacles in the path of disarmament and generating a new intensification in the arms race. The measures implied by realization of these plans -- it was pointed out within the framework of the round table -- would have numerous negative effects and would increase tension and instability on the international level, thus affecting the interests of the countries in question, the interests of all the European states, and the general interests of detente and peace in the world. It was pointed out that assuring peace and security in Europe requires not an escalation of the arms race, but rather effective measures for military disengagement and disarmament on the continent, without which it is impossible to conceive of a real security in Europe and in the world.

During their discussions, the Romanian participants emphasized in this respect the special utility and significance of initiating concrete actions involving withdrawal of troops from foreign territories, reduction of armed forces and weapons, the freezing of military budgets, and the

reduction of expenditures for armaments. In this context, Prof Dr Constantin Vlad, director of the Institute of Political Sciences and Study of the National Problem, mentioned the problem of denuclearized zones and pointed out the frequency and analytic character of the proposals referring to the European zone. He mentioned, among other things, the proposal of Romania concerning the creation of a zone of peace in the Balkans, a proposal which gave special attention not only to the military aspects themselves, but also at the same time emphasized the relationship between denuclearization and realization of broad and multilateral cooperation among the nations in this zone. The major political component of the Romanian proposal -- he said -- was the idea of creating the respective zone as a result of a collective understanding among the states involved, an understanding which had as its basis the known principles of relations between states. This was also a common theme mentioned by Dr Paul Järvenpää, representing the International Institute of Strategic Studies in London. In pointing out the importance of "zonal arrangements" in the framework of promoting the process of achieving peace and security in Europe, he expressly mentioned as "especially interesting and positive" the proposal by president Nicolae Ceaușescu concerning the creation of a buffer zone in Europe between the forces of NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

One of the topics discussed within the framework of the round table was the opportuneness of convening a conference on military disengagement and disarmament in Europe. Specialist Jean Klein of the French Institute of International Relations pointed out the net superiority of approaching this problem on a general European basis, rather than from block to block. Also mentioned at the same time was the importance of Romanian proposals concerning the organization of a special conference on disarmament in Europe and the signing of a general pact on renunciation of force and the threat of force and the non-usage of nuclear and conventional armaments. It was pointed out that realization of these proposals would have great political significance since it would demonstrate that it was possible to reach concrete agreements for achieving the aspirations of their people for living in a world of peace and security.

#### Stimulation of Disarmament Strategies

On the methodological level, the round table in Bucharest confirmed, including through its agenda, the utility of a functional, analytic approach to the subjects and topics discussed in an attempt to study deeply the factors, stimulants, causes and effects of the complex phenomena involved in the arms race, as well as the diverse components of disarmament, for the purpose of reaching theoretical and practical conclusions for a systematic, multidimensional activity aimed at overcoming the inertia of the arms race, stopping it, and unleashing a real process of disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament.

When examined in detail, the fundamental equations of disarmament-security and disarmament-development brought out the fact that the interests of all

the people converge toward assuring a real security on the basis of equality under the law, renunciation of force and the threat of force, and the right of each people for free and independent development under peaceful conditions. All these elements emphasize the truth that irrational escalation of the arms race undermines both the security and the development of nations and that the only rational solution needed is disarmament, a disarmament realized under conditions of security for all through coherent and vigorous actions on the universal level, as well as on the national and regional levels.

A unanimous conclusion of the three-day discussions in the Romanian capital was that in light of the increasing dangers represented by escalation of the arms race and in light of the continually increasing qualitative dynamic of this race, it was necessary to mobilize all responsible officials in all countries so as to reverse the dangerous spiral in which mankind today is caught and to determine a dynamic for disarmament.

The need for stimulating the political desires of the states for relaunching a new, coherent strategy for disarmament was, quite naturally, one of the topics of greatest interest in the discussions. In this context, attention was given to examination of concrete modalities for approaching the relaunching of a disarmament process on the global level, as well as on the zonal and regional levels. To do this will require more than ever before courageous initiative, imagination and a spirit of responsibility. In extensively discussing this subject, Dr Marek Thee, scientific director of the Institute for Research on Peace in Oslo, approached it on three convergent levels which he called the "three decisive faces of discussions on the security of states." At the same time, he suggested three ways for alternative strategies to the arms race, that is: a) an attitude of restraint on the military and political level; b) measures to increase confidence; c) unilateral disarmament initiatives.

According to the Norwegian researcher, military and political "restraint" presupposes the assumption by governmental officials of a more active and more imaginative role, rejecting the "automatic engagement, the capitulation into the dominant dynamic of action-reaction-overreaction" which is today characteristic for stimulants to the arms race. "Keeping in mind that the gigantic stockpiles of nuclear weapons accumulated far exceed the requirements of "discouragement," none of the parties should feel obligated to imitate the escalation activities of the adversary. Instead, if it is clearly understood that the objective is to reduce armaments, each party can declare the existing nuclear arsenals as being more than sufficient for its security." Of course, such a "strategy of restraint" requires -- it was pointed out -- political will and perseverance. In this way, however, it would be possible to break the vicious circle of the arms race. "It is difficult for any government to justify continued arms acquisition of its potential adversary drops out of the race. The active action of the people would thus make it possible to stop the present race for superiority and for acquisition of the capabilities to launch the first strike."



At the same time, it was pointed out that if the arms race is continuing against a background of a deep mistrust in relations between states, especially between the two blocks in Europe, it is obvious that the creation of an atmosphere of mutual trust, even if at a minimum level, is a fundamental premise of the disarmament efforts; therefore, a more open attitude of communication and dialogue among all states in development of the results of the Helsinki Conference would help to improve the climate and the chances for detente and disarmament.

"The strategy of gradual and mutual initiatives for reduction of tensions," said the Norwegian specialist, "is the strategy most suited for use in the European scene." Europe has an excess of armaments in its military arsenals that is so enormous and so greatly diversified that "it would be easy for any party to make a unilateral gesture of reducing armaments without risking its own security at all." The author added that it was from this very standpoint that he felt the initiatives of Romania were important, since they reflected the desire of the people to take concrete steps toward reduction and later destruction of military arsenals.

Also worth mentioning are the contributions made by the round table discussions in enrichment of the patrimony of ideas and alternative actions for better and more efficient use of the positive premises and the framework and mechanisms for negotiations on disarmament problems created by the special session of the General Assembly of the UN in 1978 on disarmament, the radical improvement in activity of the new Disarmament Committee in Geneva, and also the UN Disarmament Commission. The UN and UNESCO representatives pointed out the importance of the democratic framework for discussion and negotiations offered by the United Nations Organization. Criticism was expressed in respect to the tendency to underestimate this universal framework and in respect to the predilection of some powers to prefer to limit the framework of dialogue to one of block to block. Also noteworthy was the increasing role of the small and medium size countries through direct participation in these discussions and negotiations on the basis of full equality.

In treating this problem, Prof Dr Rolf Björnerstedt, former deputy secretary general of the UN, gave special emphasis to the importance of multilateral disarmament negotiations under the aegis of the UN, negotiations which, although perhaps more difficult because of the large number of states participating, are more relevant because they represent the interests of all countries." In connection with the second special session of the General Assembly of the UN on disarmament (scheduled to be held in 1982), the speaker said that "It must be demonstrated that the security of the small and medium size countries is just as important as the security of the large countries" and that "Modalities must be found to place all countries on an equal footing in the field of security."

In this respect, Constantin Ene (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) pointed out that the present situation required full and active use of the new



mechanism for disarmament negotiations created by the special session of the General Assembly of the UN. Its constructive utilization, he said, could be sought in three basic directions: "First of all, through the establishment of an effective authority. The effectiveness of an organism is directly proportional to the authority and competence which are accorded to it. When the old disarmament commission was abolished, it had already been useless as an organ for negotiation. Secondly, through the permanent support for and stimulation of the direct participation of all states and their initiatives in the discussion and negotiations on disarmament by means of a permanent connection with world public opinion. Thirdly, through the active promotion of the unity of action of the mechanism, through integration of the efforts and assurance of the homogeneity of all structures under the authority of the UN." The present stage, said the speaker, demonstrates the necessity for the states to have a political desire to mobilize all international actions and efforts within a broad system of discussions and negotiations designed to give rise to a real process of military disengagement and disarmament.

Stimulation of fruitful activities supported by scientific research in the field of the arms race and disarmament and the necessity for activating international public opinion were other important subjects presented in all of the speeches, with a common denominator being expressed here by, among others, the personal representative of the director general of UNESCO, Stephen Marks. In the opinion of this organization, he said, "Disarmament constitutes a necessity of prime importance because it is only in this way that education, science and culture -- our principal objectives -- can be realized in the interest of the members of the international community. Through realization of disarmament, some of the human and material resources thus freed could be diverted toward these goals..." In referring to the principal action now underway in UNESCO -- the World Congress on Education for Disarmament, which will take place in the summer of 1980 -- he said, "I have appreciated and I do appreciate the decisive attitude adopted by Romania and the active way in which it contributed to overcoming the impasse faced by disarmament. The round table in Bucharest offers us many valuable elements for our future research work and in preparing for the congress. I am convinced once again of the correctness of President Ceausescu when he states that everything possible must be done to see that public opinion is correctly informed about such problems and that this is a condition for development of trust and friendship among nations for promotion of a climate of detente and understanding among all peoples of the world."

Additionally, participants in the discussions from other countries also pointed out the consistent efforts of Romania in the field of disarmament and mentioned the importance of its many positive actions and initiatives. For instance, Prof Dr Swadesh Rana of the Institute for Defense Studies in New Delhi stated in his report that "Romania, on various occasions, has presented very valuable proposals for reduction of military expenditures as a stage in realizing disarmament, proposals which were received with

satisfaction by many countries."

The round table in Bucharest offered an opportunity for an open exchange of opinion and scientific information and a framework for a discussion among specialists of various orientations, seeking in this way not to lead toward realization of uniformity of positions, but rather toward finding the best ways for common action, ways which, even if inherently concretized from different standpoints and at different levels, will be able to contribute to realization of the goal sought by all peoples of the world -- the creation of a world freed from the nightmare of war. From this point of view, it can be stated with complete conviction that the discussions in Bucharest fully achieved their objective.

6010  
CSO:2700

## ISLAMIC PAPER REFLECTS NEW EDITORIAL POLICY

[Editorial Report] In Sarajevo PREPOROD in Serbo-Croatian No 23-24, 1-31 Dec 79, the Islamic twice-monthly reflects the change in editors and in editorial policy occasioned by the criticism in November and December of editor Musein Djozo, and the paper's objection to a series of articles critical of local Moslem actions in World War II which appeared in the Sarajevo daily OSLOBODJENJE. The publisher is now listed as the Society of Islamic Elders of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, and Slovenia in Sarajevo, rather than, as formerly, the Association of Islamic Clergy in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Dr Ahmed Smajlovic of the Islamic Faculty in Sarajevo and president of the Society of Islamic Elders in Bosnia-Hercegovina, is the new editor.

The change in orientation is evident to some degree from the following statement on page 3 by Professor Smajlovic: "Moslems should and must in every place and on every occasion, confirm and show themselves to be firm believers and citizens of their region, their home, and their country. We should know as believers and as citizens how to value our freedom, how much we love our community, why we support brotherhood, harmony, unity, love, equality, and all that we have and all that we can achieve....The fact is that we can do a great deal under our conditions in regard to Islam, especially if we take work, discipline, and order into consideration. What do we understand by Islamic work and what are its basic characteristics?... firm moral individuals, established principles, and possession of the true belief. In order to attain this goal, one must have a clear, definite and simple program which should be based on reality and practical action and not on utopia and dreams; a program that reflects the hopes, desires, and possibilities of its adherents and is imbued with holiness underlined by sacrifice, work, and action in this direction....

"First, it is necessary to study and acquaint oneself with Islamic teaching. One should approach this acquaintance with Islam in a sincere, rational, and tolerant way. One should become permeated, above all, with the basic Islamic sources, the Koran and Sunnet....

"Second, one should consider how one can be of use to the society in which one lives, offering it all one's help....

"What is our area and how much commitment should there be in the field of Islamic work? Some know and some do not know that the area of this Society of Elders in regard to Islamic work covers Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, and Slovenia, and that there are more than 100 commitments of the Islamic Society within these jurisdictions. One need only consider the above-mentioned area to see how great are the needs for commitment in Islamic work. In addition, we know that every area has its own needs, requests, and problems.

"The Assembly of the Islamic Society is its highest legislative and representative body in a broad, usually republic, area. Such is the case with the assemblies of our religious society in Macedonia and Montenegro,... while the position of our assembly is somewhat broader in that it covers three socialist republics of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, and Slovenia...."

CSO: 2800

## BORDER CROSSING POINTS SPECIFIED

Belgrade SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 56, 9 Nov 79 p 1737

[Text] For the crossing of state boundaries, permanent border crossing points have been established for international traffic, viz.,

a) border crossing points for international maritime traffic: Koper, Piran, Vmag, Porec, Rovinj, Pula, Rasa, Rijeka, Senj, Mali Losinj, Maslenica, Zadar, Sibenik, Split, Korcula, Ploce, Metkovic, Dubrovnik, Herceg-Nova, and Bar;

b) border crossings for international river traffic; Bezdan, Apatir, Vukovar, Novi Sad, Beograd, Veliko Gradiste, Tekija, Kladovo, Prahovo, Osijek and Kanjiza;

c) border crossings for international air traffic: Surcin-Beograd, Pleso-Zagreb, Cilipa-Dubrovnik, Kastel-Stafilic-Split, Zadar, Omisalj-Rijeka, Pula, Brnik-Ljubljana, Golubovca-Titograd, Tivat, Sarajevo, Petrovec-Skopje, Ohrid, and Maribor.

d) border crossings for international rail traffic: Sezava, Dutovljen, and Nova Gorica--for areas that border the Republic of Italy; Jesenica, Prevalje and Maribor--for areas that border Austria; Kotoriba, Kopnunica, Bela Monastir, Subotica and Hergos--for areas that border the National Republic of Hungary; Kikivala and Ursac--for areas that border the Socialist Republic of Rumania; Dimitrovgrad, for areas that border the National Republic of Bulgaria and Gevgelija and Knemenica--for areas that border the Republic of Greece;

e) border crossings for international motor vehicle traffic: Lazaret, Skofija, Kozina, Fernetica, Nova Gorica, Uceja, Robic, Predel, and Ratece, for areas that border the Republic of Italy; Korensko Sedlo, Ljubelj, Jezersko, Holmec, Vic, Radlje, Jurij, Sentilj, Trate, Cornja Radgova, Gederovca and Kazma--in those areas that border the Republic of Austria; Hodos, Dolga Vas, Gorican, Terezino Polje, Donji Miholjac, Krezevo, Backi Breg, Kelebija and Horgos--in those areas that border the National Republic of Hungary; Srpska Crnja, Vatin, Kaludenovo and Derdap--in those areas that border the Socialist



Republic of Rumania; Mokranje, Vrskacuka, Gradiiva, Strezimirovca, Ribarca, Deve Bair, Delcevo and Novo Selo--in those areas that border the National Republic of Bulgaria; Bogorodica and Medzitelj--in those areas that border the Republic of Greece; Cafa San, Vrbnica, Cafa Prusit and Bozaj--in those areas that border the National Socialist Republic of Albania.

2. On the day when this resolution takes effect, the Resolution concerning the establishment of a permanent border crossing at Metkovic for international maritime traffic (SLUZHBI LIST SFRJ, no. 25/79) and the Resolution concerning the establishment of permanent border crossings at Radlje, Juri, Trata and Gednovica for international motor vehicle traffic (SLUZHBI LIST SFRJ, no 30/79) will cease to be valid.

3. This Resolution takes effect on the eighth day after its promulgation in SLUZHBI LIST SFRJ.

Beograd, 1 November 1979

The League Executive Committee

Branislav Ikonc, V.P.

Chairman

9412

CSO: 2800

## YUGOSLAVIA

### BRIEFS

PARTY SCHOOL'S ETHNIC STRUCTURE--The political school of the LC committees within organs and organizations of the Federation, was formed last year as a form of regular and systematic training of Communists. During the 7 1/2 months of this school's operation the planned program was fully met; 143 of the 149 persons attending who were proposed by basic LC organizations; successfully completed the course. However, a favorite ethnic structure of attendants was not achieved: 50 percent came from Serbia, while the following nationalities were represented; 1 Albanian, 12 Montenegrins, 5 Croatsians, 31 Yugoslavs, 2 Macedonians, 2 Moslems, 1 Slovenian, and 89 Serbs. This fact also attests to the unfavorable structure of workers in the specialized services and organizations of federal institutions. The school must improve its cadre structure with the aim of having representatives of all peoples and nationalities and from all republics and provinces. [Excerpt]  
[Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jan 80 p 6]

CSO: 2800

END

**END OF**

**FICHE**

**DATE FILMED**

10' JULY '80

MAK

